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THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN WOOLMAN.

IN TWO PARTS.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, IN
STREET, BETWEEN SECOND AND THIRD

M. DCC. LXXIV.

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which he
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THE

TESTIMONY

OF

FRIENDS IN YORKSHIRE,

At their Quarterly-Meeting, *held at* York *the* 24th *and* 25th *of the third month,* 1773, *concerning*

JOHN WOOLMAN,

Of Mount-Holly, in the province of New-Jersey in America, who departed this life at the house of our friend Thomas Prieſtman, *in the ſuburbs of this city, the* 7th *of the tenth month,* 1772, *and was interred in the burying ground of friends the* 9th *of the ſame, aged about fifty two years.*

THIS our valuable friend having been under a religious engagement for ſome time, to viſit friends in this nation, and more eſpecially us in the northern parts, undertook the ſame in full concurrence and near ſympathy with his friends and brethren at home, as appeared by certificates from the monthly and quarterly meetings to which he belonged, and from the ſpring-meeting of miniſters and elders, held at Philadelphia, for Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey.

He arrived in the city of London the beginning of the laſt yearly meeting, and after attending that meeting travelled northward, viſiting the quarterly meetings of Hertfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Northamptonſhire, Oxfordſhire and Worceſterſhire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He viſited many meetings on the Weſt ſide of this county, alſo ſome in Lancaſhire and Weſtmoreland, from whence he came to our quarterly meeting in the laſt ninth month, and though much out of health, yet was enabled to attend all the ſittings of that meeting except the laſt.

His diſorder then, which proved the ſmall pox, increaſed ſpeedily upon him, and was very afflicting; under which he was ſupported in much meekneſs, patience, and chriſtian fortitude; to thoſe who attended him in his illneſs, his mind appeared to be centered in divine love; under the precious influence whereof, we believe he finiſhed his courſe, and entered into the manſions of everlaſting reſt.

In the early part of his illneſs he requeſted a friend to write, and he broke forth thus.

" O Lord my God! the amazing horrors of darkneſs were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I ſaw no way to go forth; I felt the miſery of my fellow creatures ſeparated from the divine harmony and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was cruſhed down under it; I lifted up my hand, and ſtretched out my arm, but there was

was

none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed: in the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee; thou hadst pity upon me, when no man could help me; I saw that meekness under suffering was shewed to us in the most affecting example of thy son, and thou wast teaching me to follow him, and I said, thy Will, O Father be done."

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here, but it was deemed unnecessary, they being already published in print.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity, and being obedient to the manifestations of Divine Grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in his church; dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful in his public appearances to feel the putting forth of the Divine Hand, so that the spring of the gospel ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers towards the city of God: skilfull in dividing the word, he was furnished by Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the

people

people where his lot was caſt. His conduct at other times was ſeaſoned with the like watchful circumſpection and attention to the guidance of Divine Wiſdom, which rendered his whole converſation uniformly edifying.

He was fully perſuaded that as the life of Chriſt comes to reign in the earth, all abuſe and unneceſſary oppreſſion, both of the human and brute creation will come to an end; but under the ſenſe of a deep revolt, and an overflowing ſtream of unrighteouſneſs, his life has been often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making ſlaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that ſtate; and on that account we underſtand he hath not only wrote ſome books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the Negro maſters (eſpecially thoſe in profeſſion with us) ſenſible of the evil of ſuch a practice; and though in this journey to England, he was far removed from the outward ſight of their ſufferings, yet his deep exerciſe of mind remained, as appears by a ſhort treatiſe he wrote in this journey, and his frequent concern to open the miſerable ſtate of this deeply injured people: his teſtimony in the laſt meeting he attended was on this ſubject, wherein he remarked, that as we as a ſociety, when under outward ſufferings had often found it our concern to lay them before thoſe in authority, and thereby in the Lord's time,

had

had obtained relief, ſo he recommended this oppreſſed part of the creation to our notice, that we may as way may open, repreſent their ſufferings in an individual, if not a ſociety, capacity to thoſe in authority.

Deeply ſenſible that the deſire to gratify people's inclinations in luxury and ſuperfluities, is the principal ground of oppreſſion, and the occaſion of many unneceſſary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pattern of great ſelf-denial, with reſpect to the things of this life, and earneſtly to labour with friends in the meekneſs of wiſdom, to impreſs on their minds the great importance of our teſtimony in theſe things, recommending to the guidance of the bleſſed Truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning ſuch as are experienced therein, againſt contenting themſelves with acting up to the ſtandard of others, but to be careful to make the ſtandard of truth manifeſted to them, the meaſure of their obedience; for ſaid he, "That purity of life which proceeds from faithfulneſs in following the Spirit of Truth, that ſtate where our minds are devoted to ſerve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wiſdom; this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may ſtand ſeparated from that which diſordereth and confuſeth the affairs of ſociety, and where we may have a teſtimony of our innocence in the hearts of thoſe who behold us."

We

We conclude with fervent desires, that we as a people may thus, by our example, promote the Lord's work in the earth; and our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harvest, that as in his infinite wisdom he hath greatly stripped the church, by removing of late divers faithful ministers and elders, he may be pleased to send forth many more faithful labourers into his harvest.

Signed in, by order, and on behalf of said meeting.

Thomas Bennett,
John Storr,
Joseph Eglin,
Thomas Perkinson,
Joseph Wright,
Samuel Briscoe,
John Turner,
Joshua Robinson,
Thomas Priestman, and divers other Friends.

A TESTIMONY OF THE MONTHLY-MEETING OF FRIENDS,

Held in Burlington, *the first day of the eighth month, in the year of our Lord,* 1774, *concerning our esteemed friend*

JOHN WOOLMAN, DECEASED.

HE was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington, and province of West-New-Jersey, in the eighth month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the christian religion, as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him, even in his young years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children; but through the workings of the enemy, and levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts, by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance, that was finally succeeded by a godly sorrow not to be repented of, and so became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age, and by a faithful use of the talents committed to him, he experienced an encrease, until he arrived at the state of a father,

ther, capable of dividing the word aright to the different ſtates he miniſtered unto; diſpenſing milk to babes, and meat to thoſe of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to ariſe, which in his own expreſſions, "prepares the creature to ſtand like a trumpet through which the Lord ſpeaks to his people."—He was a loving huſband, a tender father, and very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and thoſe in affliction was evident by his viſits to them; whom he frequently relieved by his aſſiſtance and charity. He was for many years deeply exerciſed on account of the poor enſlaved Africans, whoſe cauſe, as he ſometimes mentioned, lay almoſt continually upon him, and to obtain liberty to thoſe captives, he laboured both in public and private; and was favoured to ſee his endeavours crowned with conſiderable ſucceſs. He was particularly deſirous that friends ſhould not be inſtrumental to lay burthens on this oppreſſed people, but remember the days of ſuffering from which they had been providentially delivered, that if times of trouble ſhould return, no injuſtice dealt to thoſe in ſlavery might riſe in judgment againſt us, but, being clear, we might on ſuch occaſions addreſs the Almighty with a degree of confidence, for his interpoſition and relief, being particularly careful as to himſelf, not to countenance ſlavery even by the uſe of thoſe conveniencies of life which were furniſhed by their labour.

He

He was desirous to have his own, and the minds of others, redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which, appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well disposed people. In the latter part of his life he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and as much as possible, avoided the use of plate, costly furniture and feasting; thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto; and was favoured with peace therein, altho' it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and tho' a man of industry, avoided, and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour, and anxiousness after perishable things; being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed.

He several times opened a school at Mount-Holly, for the instruction of poor friends children

children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein:—his love and care for the riſing youth among us was truly great, recommending to parents and thoſe who have the charge of them, to chuſe conſcientious and pious tutors, ſaying, "It is a lovely ſight to behold innocent children," and that "to labour for their help againſt that which would marr the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them."

His miniſtry was ſound, very deep and penetrating, ſometimes pointing out the dangerous ſituation which indulgence and cuſtom leads into; frequently exhorting others, eſpecially the youth, not to be diſcouraged at the difficulties which occur, but preſs after purity. He often expreſſed an earneſt engagement that *pure wiſdom* ſhould be attended to, which would lead into lowlineſs of mind and reſignation to the divine will, in which ſtate ſmall poſſeſſions here would be ſufficient.

In tranſacting the affairs of diſcipline, his judgment was ſound and clear, and he was very uſeful in treating with thoſe who had done amiſs; he viſited ſuch in a private way in that plainneſs which truth dictates, ſhewing great tenderneſs and chriſtian forbearance. He was a conſtant attender of our yearly-meeting, in which he was a good example, and particularly uſeful; aſſiſting in the buſineſs thereof with great weight and attention. He ſeveral times viſited moſt of the meetings of friends in this and the neighbouring

bouring provinces, with the concurrence of the monthly-meeting to which he belonged, and we have reaſon to believe had good ſervice therein, generally or always expreſſing at his return how it had fared with him, and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other friends in the important ſervice of viſiting families, which he was enabled to go through to ſatisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of miniſters and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a liſt of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his hand writing the following obſervation and reflections. "As looking over the minutes made by perſons who have put off this body, hath ſometimes revived in me a thought how ages paſs away; ſo this liſt may probably revive a like thought in ſome, when I and the reſt of the perſons abovenamed, are centered in another ſtate of being.—The Lord, who was the guide of my youth, hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; he hath healed me of wounds, he hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; he remains to be the ſtrength of my life; to whom I deſire to devote myſelf in time, and in eternity."—*Signed*, John Woolman.

In the twelfth month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he found his mind drawn towards a religious viſit to friends in ſome parts of England, particularly in Yorkſhire. In the firſt month 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and endorſed by

our

our quarterly meeting, and by the half year's meeting of miniſters and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the fifth, and arrived in London in the ſixth month following, at the time of their annual meeting in that city. During his ſhort viſit to friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his ſervices were acceptable and edifying. In his laſt illneſs he uttered many lively and comfortable expreſſions, being "perfectly reſigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the teſtimony of friends at York in Great-Britain, in the ſuburbs whereof, at the houſe of our friend Thomas Prieſtman, he died of the ſmall-pox, on the ſeventh day of the tenth month, 1772, and was buried in friends burying ground in that city, on the ninth of the ſame, after a large and ſolid meeting held on the occaſion, at their great meeting-houſe, aged near fifty-two years; a miniſter upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount-Holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love and pious care for the proſperity of friends in the bleſſed truth, we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in, and by order of the ſaid meeting, by

SAMUEL ALLINSON, *Clerk.*

Read and approved at our quarterly-meeting, held at Burlington the 29th of the 8th month, 1774.

Signed by order of ſaid meeting,

DANIEL SMITH, *Clerk.*

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE, GOSPEL LABOURS,

AND

CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES

OF THAT

FAITHFUL MINISTER

OF

JESUS CHRIST,

JOHN WOOLMAN,

Late of MOUNT-HOLLY, in the Province of NEW-JERSEY.

ISAIAH xxxii. 17.

The work of righteousneſs ſhall be peace; and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, in Market-Street, between Second and Third Streets.

M.DCC.LXXIV.

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

JOHN WOOLMAN,

IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL.

CHAP. I.

His birth and parentage, with ſome account of the operations of divine grace on his mind in his youth — His firſt appearance in the miniſtry — And his conſiderations, while young, on the keeping of ſlaves.

I HAVE often felt a motion of love to leave ſome hints in writing of my experience of the goodneſs of God: and now, in the thirty-ſixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington county, Weſt-Jerſey, in the Year 1720; and before I was ſeven years old I began to

be acquainted with the operations of divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read near as ſoon as I was capable of it; and as I went from ſchool one ſeventh day, I remember, while my companions went to play by the way, I went forward out of ſight, and ſitting down, I read the 22d chapter of the Revelations. "He ſhewed me a "pure river of water of life, clear as chry-"ſtal, proceeding out of the throne of God "and of the Lamb, &c." and in reading it, my mind was drawn to ſeek after that pure habitation, which, I then believed, God had prepared for his ſervants. The place where I ſate, and the ſweetneſs that attended my mind, remains freſh in my memory.

This, and the like gracious viſitations, had that effect upon me, that when boys uſed ill language, it troubled me; and, through the continued mercies of God, I was preſerved from it.

The pious inſtructions of my parents were often freſh in my mind when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of uſe to me. My parents, having a large family of children, uſed frequently, on firſt days after meeting, to put us to read in the holy ſcriptures, or ſome religious books, one after another, the reſt ſitting by without much converſation; which, I have ſince often thought, was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in paſt ages, people who walked in uprightneſs before God, in a degree exceeding any that I knew, or heard

heard of, now living: and the apprehenſion of there being leſs ſteadineſs and firmneſs amongſt people in this age than in paſt ages, often troubled me while I was a child.

A thing remarkable in my childhood was, that once going to a neighbour's houſe, I ſaw, on the way, a robin ſitting on her neſt, and as I came near ſhe went off, but having young ones flew about, and with many cries expreſſed her concern for them; I ſtood and threw ſtones at her, till one ſtriking her, ſhe fell down dead: at firſt I was pleaſed with the exploit, but after a few minutes was ſeized with horror, as having, in a ſportive way, killed an innocent creature while ſhe was careful for her young: I beheld her lying dead, and thought thoſe young ones, for which ſhe was ſo careful, muſt now periſh for want of their dam to nouriſh them; and after ſome painful conſiderations on the ſubject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds, and killed them; ſuppoſing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miſerably: and believed, in this caſe, that ſcripture proverb was fulfilled, "The "tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, but, for ſome hours, could think of little elſe but the cruelties I had committed, and was much troubled. Thus He, whoſe tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exerciſe goodneſs towards every living creature; and this being ſingly attended to, people

become tender-hearted and ſympathizing; but being frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes ſhut up in a contrary diſpoſition.

About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reproved me for ſome miſconduct, to which I made an undutiful reply; and the next firſt day, as I was with my father returning from meeting, he told me he underſtood I had behaved amiſs to my mother, and adviſed me to be more careful in future. I knew myſelf blameable, and in ſhame and confuſion remained ſilent. Being thus awakened to a ſenſe of my wickedneſs, I felt remorſe in my mind, and getting home, I retired and prayed to the Lord to forgive me; and do not remember that I ever, after that, ſpoke unhandſomely to either of my parents, however fooliſh in ſome other things.

Having attained the age of ſixteen years, I began to love wanton company; and though I was preſerved from profane language, or ſcandalous conduct, ſtill I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes: yet my merciful Father forſook me not utterly, but at times, through his grace, I was brought ſeriouſly to conſider my ways; and the ſight of my backſlidings affected me with ſorrow; but for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of inſtruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance: upon the whole, my mind was more and more alienated from the truth, and I haſtened toward

ward deſtruction. While I meditate on the gulf towards which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful diſobedience, for theſe things I weep, mine eye runneth down with water.

Advancing in age the number of my acquaintance increaſed, and thereby my way grew more difficult: though I had found comfort in reading the holy ſcriptures, and thinking on heavenly things, I was now eſtranged therefrom: I knew I was going from the flock of Chriſt, and had no reſolution to return; hence ſerious reflections were uneaſy to me, and youthful vanities and diverſions my greateſt pleaſure. Running in this road I found many like myſelf; and we aſſociated in that which is reverſe to true friendſhip.

But in this ſwift race it pleaſed God to viſit me with ſickneſs, ſo that I doubted of recovering; and then did darkneſs, horror, and amazement, with full force, ſeize me, even when my pain and diſtreſs of body was very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had a being, than to ſee the day which I now ſaw. I was filled with confuſion; and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myſelf. I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but, in a deep ſenſe of my great folly, I was humbled before him: and, at length, that Word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and diſſolved my rebellious heart, and then my cries were put up in contrition; and in the

multi-

multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a close engagement, that if he was pleased to restore my health, I might walk humbly before him.

After my recovery, this exercise remained with me a considerable time; but, by degrees, giving way to youthful vanities, they gained strength, and getting with wanton young people I lost ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and spoke peace to me in the time of my distress; and I now most ungratefully turned again to folly; on which account, at times, I felt sharp reproof, but did not get low enough to cry for help. I was not so hardy as to commit things scandalous; but to exceed in vanity, and promote mirth, was my chief study. Still I retained a love and esteem for pious people; and their company brought an awe upon me. My dear parents, several times, admonished me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart, and had a good effect for a season; but not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter, when he came, found entrance. I remember, once having spent a part of the day in wantonness, as I went to bed at night, there lay in a window, near my bed, a bible, which I opened, and first cast my eye on the text, "we lie down in our shame, and our "confusion covers us;" this I knew to be my case: and meeting with so unexpected a reproof, I was somewhat affected with it, and

went

went to bed under remorſe of conſcience; which I ſoon caſt off again.

Thus time paſt on: my heart was repleniſhed with mirth and wantonneſs, while pleaſing ſcenes of vanity were preſented to my imagination, till I attained the age of eighteen years; near which time I felt the judgments of God, in my ſoul, like a conſuming fire; and looking over my paſt life, the proſpect was moving.—I was often ſad, and longed to be delivered from thoſe vanities; then again, my heart was ſtrongly inclined to them, and there was in me a ſore conflict: at times I turned to folly; and then again, ſorrow and confuſion took hold of me. In a while, I reſolved totally to leave off ſome of my vanities; but there was a ſecret reſerve in my heart, of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus, for ſome months, I had great troubles; there remaining in me an unſubjected will, which rendered my labours fruitleſs, till at length, through the merciful continuance of heavenly viſitations, I was made to bow down in ſpirit before the Lord. I remember one evening I had ſpent ſome time in reading a pious author; and walking out alone, I humbly prayed to the Lord for his help, that I might be delivered from all thoſe vanities which ſo enſnared me. Thus being brought low, he helped me; and as I learned to bear the croſs, I felt refreſhment to come from his preſence; but not keeping in that ſtrength which gave victory, I loſt ground

again;

again; the ſenſe of which greatly affected me: and I ſought deſerts and lonely places, and there with tears did confeſs my ſins to God, and humbly craved help of him. And I may ſay with reverence, he was near to me in my troubles, and in thoſe times of humiliation opened my ear to diſcipline. I was now led to look ſeriouſly at the means by which I was drawn from the pure truth, and learned this, that if I would live in the life which the faithful ſervants of God lived in, I muſt not go into company as heretofore in my own will; but all the cravings of ſenſe muſt be governed by a divine principle. In times of ſorrow and abaſement theſe inſtructions were ſealed upon me, and I felt the power of Chriſt prevail over ſelfiſh deſires, ſo that I was preſerved in a good degree of ſteadineſs; and being young, and believing, at that time, that a ſingle life was beſt for me, I was ſtrengthened to keep from ſuch company as had often been a ſnare to me.

I kept ſteadily to meetings; ſpent firſt days afternoon chiefly in reading the ſcriptures and other good books; and was early convinced in my mind, that true religion conſiſted in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exerciſe true juſtice and goodneſs, not only toward all men, but alſo toward the brute creatures—That as the mind was moved, by an inward principle, to love God as an inviſible incomprehenſible Being; by the ſame principle it was moved to love him in all

all his manifeſtations in the viſible world—That, as by his breath, the flame of life was kindled in all animal ſenſible creatures, to ſay we love God as unſeen, and, at the ſame time, exerciſe cruelty toward the leaſt creature moving by his life, or by life derived from him; was a contradiction in itſelf.

I found no narrowneſs reſpecting ſects and opinions; but believed, that ſincere upright hearted people, in every ſociety, who truly love God, were accepted of him.

As I lived under the croſs, and ſimply followed the openings of truth, my mind, from day to day, was more enlightened; my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it ſafeſt for me to live in private, and keep theſe things ſealed up in my own breaſt. While I ſilently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this viſible creation, and an awfulneſs covered me; my heart was tender and often contrite, and univerſal love to my fellow-creatures increaſed in me: this will be underſtood by ſuch who have trodden in the ſame path. Some glances of real beauty may be ſeen in their faces, who dwell in true meekneſs.

There is a harmony in the ſound of that voice to which divine love gives utterance, and ſome appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whoſe paſſions are regulated; yet all theſe do not fully ſhew forth

that

that inward life to ſuch who have not felt it: but this white ſtone and new name is known rightly to ſuch only who have it.

Now though I had been thus ſtrengthened to bear the croſs, I ſtill found myſelf in great danger, having many weakneſſes attending me, and ſtrong temptations to wreſtle with; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears beſought the Lord to help me, whoſe gracious ear was open to my cry.

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the plantation; and having had ſchooling pretty well for a planter, I uſed to improve it in winter-evenings, and other leiſure times; and being now in the twenty-firſt year of my age, a man, in much buſineſs at ſhop-keeping and baking, aſked me, if I would hire with him to tend ſhop and keep books. I acquainted my father with the propoſal; and, after ſome deliberation, it was agreed for me to go.

At home I had lived retired; and now having a proſpect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the Father of mercies, that he would preſerve me from all taint and corruption; that, in this more public employment, I might ſerve Him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and ſelf-denial, with which I had been, in a ſmall degree, exerciſed in a more private life. The man, who employed me, furniſhed a ſhop in Mount-Holly, about five miles from my father's

houſe

houſe, and fix from his own; and there I lived alone, and tended his ſhop. Shortly after my ſettlement here, I was viſited by ſeveral young people my former acquaintance, who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever; and, at theſe times, I cried to the Lord in ſecret for wiſdom and ſtrength; for I felt myſelf encompaſſed with difficulties, and had freſh occaſion to bewail the follies of time paſt, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people: and as I had now left my father's houſe outwardly, I found my heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can expreſs.

By day I was much amongſt people, and had many trials to go through; but in the evenings, I was moſtly alone, and may with thankfulneſs acknowledge, that, in thoſe times, the ſpirit of ſupplication was often poured upon me; under which I was frequently exerciſed, and felt my ſtrength renewed.

In a few months after I came here, my maſter bought ſeveral Scotchmen ſervants, from on board a veſſel, and brought them to Mount-Holly to ſell; one of which was taken ſick, and died.

In the latter part of his ſickneſs, he, being delirious, uſed to curſe and ſwear moſt forrowfully; and the next night after his burial, I was left to ſleep alone in the ſame chamber where he died: I perceived in me a timorouſneſs; I knew, however, I had not injured the man, but aſſiſted in taking care of him

according

according to my capacity; and was not free to aſk any one, on that occaſion, to ſleep with me: nature was feeble; but every tryal was a freſh incitement to give myſelf up wholly to the ſervice of God, for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

After awhile, my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company; and I began to be known to ſome whoſe converſation was helpful to me: and now, as I had experienced the love of God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a ſuccour to me through a ſea of conflicts, with which no perſon was fully acquainted; and as my heart was often enlarged in this heavenly principle, I felt a tender compaſſion for the youth, who remained entangled in ſnares like thoſe which had entangled me from one time to another: this love and tenderneſs increaſed; and my mind was more ſtrongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd; and one day, being under a ſtrong exerciſe of ſpirit, I ſtood up, and ſaid ſome words in a meeting; but not keeping cloſe to the divine opening, I ſaid more than was required of me; and being ſoon ſenſible of my error, I was afflicted in mind ſome weeks, without any light or comfort, even to that degree that I could not take ſatisfaction in any thing: I remembered God, and was troubled; and, in the depth of my diſtreſs,

treſs, he had pity upon me, and ſent the Comforter: I then felt forgiveneſs for my offence, and my mind became calm and quiet, being truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for his mercies; and after this, feeling the ſpring of divine love opened, and a concern to ſpeak, I ſaid a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace; this, I believe, was about ſix weeks from the firſt time: and, as I was thus humbled and diſciplined under the croſs, my underſtanding became more ſtrengthened to diſtinguiſh the pure ſpirit which inwardly moves upon the heart, and taught me to wait in ſilence ſometimes many weeks together, until I felt that riſe which prepares the creature to ſtand like a trumpet, through which the Lord ſpeaks to his flock.

From an inward purifying, and ſtedfaſt abiding under it, ſprings a lively operative deſire for the good of others: all the faithful are not called to the public miniſtry; but whoever are, are called to miniſter of that which they have taſted and handled ſpiritually. The outward modes of worſhip are various; but wherever any are true miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, it is from the operation of his ſpirit upon their hearts, firſt purifying them, and thus giving them a juſt ſenſe of the conditions of others.

This truth was early fixed in my mind; and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed, leſt, while I was ſtanding to ſpeak, my own will ſhould get uppermoſt,

and

and cauſe me to utter words from worldly wiſdom, and depart from the channel of the true goſpel miniſtry. In the management of my outward affairs, I may ſay with thankfulneſs, I found truth to be my ſupport; and I was reſpected in my maſter's family, who came to live in Mount-Holly within two years after my going there.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many freſh and heavenly openings, in reſpect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the moſt noble amongſt thoſe which are viſible. And being clearly convinced in my judgment, that to place my whole truſt in God was beſt for me, I felt renewed engagements, that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and purſue worldly buſineſs no further, than as truth opened my way therein.

About the time called Chriſtmas, I obſerved many people from the country, and dwellers in town, who, reſorting to publick-houſes, ſpent their time in drinking and vain ſports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one houſe in particular there was much diſorder; and I believed it was a duty incumbent on me to go and ſpeak to the maſter of that houſe. I conſidered I was young, and that ſeveral elderly friends in town had opportunity to ſee theſe things; but though I would gladly have been excuſed, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

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The exercise was heavy: and as I was reading what the Almighty said to Ezekiel, respecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was set home more clearly; and then, with prayers and tears, I besought the Lord for his assistance, who, in loving-kindness, gave me a resigned heart: then, at a suitable opportunity, I went to the publick-house; and seeing the man amongst much company, I went to him, and told him, I wanted to speak with him; so we went aside, and there, in the fear and dread of the Almighty, I expreſt to him what rested on my mind; which he took kindly, and afterward shewed more regard to me than before. In a few years afterwards he died, middle-aged; and I often thought, that had I neglected my duty in that case, it would have given me great trouble; and I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who had supported me herein.

My employer having a negro woman, sold her, and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her: the thing was sudden; and though the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures felt uneasy, yet I remembered I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our society, who bought her; so, through weakness, I gave way, and wrote it; but, at the executing it, I was so afflicted in my mind, that I said, before my master and the friend,

that

that I believed ſlave-keeping to be a practice inconſiſtent with the chriſtian religion: this in ſome degree abated my uneaſineſs; yet, as often as I reflected ſeriouſly upon it, I thought I ſhould have been clearer, if I had deſired to be excuſed from it, as a thing againſt my conſcience; for ſuch it was. And ſome time after this, a young man, of our ſociety, ſpoke to me to write a conveyance of a ſlave to him; he having lately taken a negro into his houſe: I told him, I was not eaſy to write it; for, though many of our meeting and in other places kept ſlaves, I ſtill believed the practice was not right; and deſired to be excuſed from the writing. I ſpoke to him in good will; and he told me, that keeping ſlaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the ſlave being a gift made to his wife, he had accepted of her.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

His first journey, on a religious visit, into East-Jersey, in company with Abraham Farrington—His thoughts on merchandizing, and his learning a trade—His second journey, with Isaac Andrews, into Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina.—His third journey, with Peter Andrews, through part of West and East-Jersey—Some account of his sister Elizabeth, and her death—His fourth journey, with Peter Andrews, through New-York and Long-Island, to New-England—And his fifth journey, with John Sykes, to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and the Lower Counties on Delaware.

MY esteemed friend Abraham Farrington, being about to make a visit to friends on the eastern side of this province, and having no companion, he proposed to me to go with him; and after a conference with some elderly friends, I agreed to go: so we set out the fifth day of the ninth month, in the year 1743; had an evening meeting at a tavern in Brunswick, a town in which none of our society dwelt; the room was full, and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an evening meeting in the court-house; to which came many people, amongst whom were several members of assembly, they being in town on the public affairs of the pro-

vince: in both theſe meetings my antient companion was enlarged to preach, in the love of the goſpel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Raway, and Plainfield; and had ſix or ſeven meetings in places where friends meetings are not uſually held, being made up chiefly of preſbyterians, and my beloved companion was frequently ſtrengthened to publiſh the word of life amongſt them: as for me, I was often ſilent thro' the meetings; and when I ſpake, it was with much care, that I might ſpeak only what truth opened: my mind was often tender, and I learned ſome profitable leſſons. We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on ſome outward buſineſs in which ſeveral families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, ſome things relating thereto not being clearly ſtated, nor rightly underſtood by all, there aroſe ſome heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable friend got off his watch; I had a great regard for him, and felt a ſtrong inclination, after matters were ſettled, to ſpeak to him concerning his conduct in that caſe; but I being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult; but after ſome days deliberation, and inward ſeeking to the Lord for aſſiſtance, I was made ſubject; ſo that I expreſt what lay upon me, in a way which became my youth and his years: and though it was a hard taſk to me, it was well taken, and, I believe, was uſeful to us both.

Having

Having now been ſeveral years with my employer, and he doing leſs at merchandize than heretofore, I was thoughtful of ſome other way of buſineſs; perceiving merchandize to be attended with much cumber, in the way of trading in theſe parts.

My mind, through the power of truth, was in a good degree weaned from the deſire of outward greatneſs, and I was learning to be content with real conveniencies, that were not coſtly; ſo that a way of life, free from much entanglements, appeared beſt for me, tho' the income might be ſmall. I had ſeveral offers of buſineſs that appeared profitable, but did not ſee my way clear to accept of them; as believing the buſineſs propoſed would be attended with more outward care and cumber than was required of me to engage in.

I ſaw that a humble man, with the bleſſing of the Lord, might live on a little: and that where the heart was ſet on greatneſs, ſucceſs in buſineſs did not ſatisfy the craving; but that commonly with an increaſe of wealth, the deſire of wealth increaſed. There was a care on my mind ſo to paſs my time, that nothing might hinder me from the moſt ſteady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a taylor, and kept a ſervant man at that buſineſs; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting, that if I ſhould ſettle, I might, by this trade, and a little retailing of goods, get a living

in a plain way, without the load of great buſineſs: I mentioned it to my employer, and we ſoon agreed on terms; and then, when I had leiſure from the affairs of merchandize, I worked with his man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this buſineſs for me; and was taught to be content with it, though I felt, at times, a diſpoſition that would have ſought for ſomething greater: but, through the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, I had ſeen the happineſs of humility, and there was an earneſt deſire in me to enter deep into it; and, at times, this deſire aroſe to a degree of fervent ſupplication, wherein my ſoul was ſo environed with heavenly light and conſolation, that things were made eaſy to me which had been otherwiſe.

After ſome time, my employer's wife died; ſhe was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbours: and ſoon after this, he left ſhopkeeping; and we parted. I then wrought at my trade, as a taylor; carefully attended meetings for worſhip and diſcipline; and found an enlargement of goſpel love in my mind, and therein a concern to viſit friends in ſome of the back ſettlements of Pennſylvania and Virginia; and being thoughtful about a companion, I expreſſed it to my beloved friend Iſaac Andrews, who then told me that he had drawings to the ſame places; and alſo to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After conſiderable time paſt, and ſeveral conferences with him, I felt eaſy to accompany him throughout;

throughout, if way opened for it. I opened the caſe in our monthly meeting, and friends expreſſing their unity therewith, we obtained certificates to travel as companions; his from Haddonfield, and mine from Burlington.

We left our province on the twelfth day of the third month, in the year 1746, and had ſeveral meetings in the upper part of Cheſter county, and near Lancaſter; in ſome of which, the love of Chriſt prevailed, uniting us together in his ſervice. Then we croſſed the river Suſquehannah, and had ſeveral meetings in a new ſettlement, called the Red-Lands; the oldeſt of which, as I was informed, did not exceed ten years. It is the poorer ſort of people that commonly begin to improve remote deſerts: with a ſmall ſtock they have houſes to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raiſe, cloaths to provide, and children to educate; that friends, who viſit ſuch, may well ſympathize with them in their hardſhips in the wilderneſs; and though the beſt entertainment ſuch can give, may ſeem coarſe to ſome who are uſed to cities, or old ſettled places, it becomes the diſciples of Chriſt to be content with it. Our hearts were ſometimes enlarged in the love of our heavenly Father amongſt theſe people; and the ſweet influence of his ſpirit ſupported us through ſome difficulties: to him be the praiſe.

We paſſed on to Manoquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanando, and had meetings; ſome of which were comfortable and edifying.

edifying. From Shanando we ſet off in the afternoon for the old ſettlements of friends in Virginia; and the firſt night, we, with our pilot, lodged in the woods, our horſes feeding near us; but he being poorly provided with a horſe, and we young and having good horſes, were free the next day to part with him; and did ſo. In two days after, we reached to our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia: ſo we took the meetings in our way through Virginia; were, in ſome degree, baptized into a feeling ſenſe of the conditions of the people; and our exerciſe in general was more painful in theſe old ſettlements, than it had been amongſt the back inhabitants: but through the goodneſs of our heavenly Father, the well of living-waters was, at times, opened to our encouragement, and the refreſhment of the ſincere hearted. We went on to Perquimons, in North-Carolina; had ſeveral meetings, which were large; and found ſome openneſs in thoſe parts, and a hopeful appearance amongſt the young people. So we turned again to Virginia, and attended moſt of the meetings which we had not been at before, labouring amongſt friends in the love of Jeſus Chriſt, as ability was given: and thence went to the mountains, up James River, to a new ſettlement; and had ſeveral meetings amongſt the people, ſome of whom had lately joined in memberſhip with our ſociety.

In our journeying to and fro, we found ſome honeſt-hearted friends, who appeared

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to be concerned for the cauſe of truth among a backſliding people.

From Virginia, we croſſed over the river Patowmac, at Hoe's ferry, and made a general viſit to the meetings of friends on the Weſtern Shore of Maryland; and were at their quarterly meeting. We had ſome hard labour amongſt them, endeavouring to diſcharge our duty honeſtly as way opened, in the love of truth: and thence taking ſundry meetings in our way, we paſſed homeward; where, through the favour of Divine Providence, we reached the ſixteenth day of the ſixth month, in the year 1746; and I may ſay, that through the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, which mortifies ſelfiſh deſires, my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearneſs of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: firſt, in regard to my entertainment; when I eat, drank, and lodged free-coſt with people, who lived in eaſe on the hard labour of their ſlaves, I felt uneaſy; and as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneaſineſs return upon me, at times, through the whole viſit. Where the maſters bore a good ſhare of the burthen, and lived frugally, ſo that their ſervants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more eaſy; but where they lived in a coſtly way, and laid heavy burthens on their ſlaves, my exerciſe was often great, and I frequently had converſation with them, in private, concerning

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it. Secondly: this trade of importing ſlaves from their native country being much encouraged amongſt them, and the white people and their children ſo generally living without much labour, was frequently the ſubject of my ſerious thoughts: and I ſaw in theſe ſouthern provinces ſo many vices and corruptions, increaſed by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a dark gloomineſs hanging over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet in future the conſequence will be grievous to poſterity: I expreſs it as it hath appeared to me, not at once, nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home, I felt an increaſing concern for friends on our ſea coaſt; and on the eighth day of the eighth month, in the year 1746, with the unity of friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbour Peter Andrews, brother to my companion before-mentioned, we ſet forward, and viſited meetings generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg-Harbour; and had meetings at Barnagat, Mannahockin, and Mane-Squan, and ſo to the yearly meeting at Shrewſbury. Through the goodneſs of the Lord way was opened, and the ſtrength of divine love was ſometimes felt in our aſſemblies, to the comfort and help of thoſe who were rightly concerned before him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewſbury yearly meeting,

ing, we met with our dear friends Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good ſervice there.

The winter following died my eldeſt ſiſter, Elizabeth Woolman, jun. of the ſmall-pox, aged thirty-one years. She was, from her youth, of a thoughtful diſpoſition; and very compaſſionate to her acquaintance in their ſickneſs or diſtreſs, being ready to help as far as ſhe could. She was dutiful to her parents; one inſtance whereof follows:—It happened that ſhe, and two of her ſiſters, being then near the eſtate of young women, had an inclination one firſt day after meeting to go on a viſit to ſome other young women at ſome diſtance off; whoſe company, I believe, would have done them no good. They expreſt their deſire to our parents; who were diſſatisfied with the propoſal, and ſtopped them. The ſame day, as my ſiſters and I were together, and they talking about their diſappointment, Elizabeth expreſt her contentment under it; ſignifying, ſhe believed it might be for their good.

A few years after ſhe attained to mature-age, through the gracious viſitations of God's love, ſhe was ſtrengthened to live a ſelf-denying exemplary life, giving herſelf much to reading and meditation.

The following letter may ſhew, in ſome degree, her diſpoſition:

Haddonfield,

Haddonfield, 1ſt day, 11th month, 1743.

Beloved brother John Woolman,

In that love which deſires the welfare of all men, I write unto thee: I received thine, dated ſecond day of the tenth month laſt, with which I was comforted. My ſpirit is bowed with thankfulneſs that I ſhould be remembered, who am unworthy; but the Lord is full of mercy, and his goodneſs is extended to the meaneſt of his creation; therefore, in his infinite love, he hath pitied and ſpared and ſhewed mercy, that I have not been cut off nor quite loſt; but, at times, I am refreſhed and comforted as with the glimpſe of his preſence, which is more to the immortal part, than all which this world can afford: ſo, with deſires for thy preſervation with my own, I remain

thy affectionate ſiſter,

Eliz. Woolman, jun.

The fore part of her illneſs ſhe was in great ſadneſs and dejection of mind, of which ſhe told one of her intimate friends, and ſaid, when I was a young girl I was wanton and airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented for it; and added, I have of late had great ſatisfaction in meetings. Though ſhe was thus diſconſolate, ſtill ſhe retained a hope, which was as an anchor to her: and ſome time after, the ſame friend came

came again to ſee her, to whom ſhe mentioned her former expreſſions, and ſaid, it is otherwiſe now, for the Lord hath rewarded me ſeven-fold; and I am unable to expreſs the greatneſs of his love manifeſted to me. Her diſorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being ſorrowful, ſhe took notice of it, and ſaid, dear mother, weep not for me; I go to my God: and many times, with an audible voice, uttered praiſe to her Redeemer.

A friend coming ſome miles to ſee her the morning before ſhe died, aſked her, how ſhe did? ſhe anſwered, I have had a hard night, but ſhall not have another ſuch, for I ſhall die, and it will be well with my ſoul; and accordingly died the next evening.

The following ejaculations were found amongſt her writings; wrote, I believe, at four times:

I. Oh! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God.

II. O Lord, that I may enjoy thy preſence; or elſe my time is loſt, and my life a ſnare to my ſoul.

III. O Lord, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me.

IV. O Lord, that I may be acquainted with thy preſence, that I may be ſeaſoned with thy ſalt, that thy grace may abound in me.

Of

Of late I found drawings in my mind to viſit friends in New-England, and having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend Peter Andrews; we, having obtained certificates from our monthly meeting, ſet forward on the ſixteenth day of the third month, in the year 1747, and reached the yearly meeting at Long-Iſland; at which were our friends Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoſkins, and Elizabeth Hudſon from Pennſylvania, and Jacob Andrews from Cheſterfield. Several of whom were favoured in their publick exerciſe; and, through the goodneſs of the Lord, we had ſome edifying meetings. After this, my companion and I viſited friends on Long-Iſland; and, through the mercies of God, we were helped in the work.

Beſides going to the ſettled meetings of friends, we were at a general meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other ſocieties: and had a meeting at Oyſter-Bay, in a dwelling-houſe, at which were many people: at the firſt of which there was not much ſaid by way of teſtimony; but was, I believe, a good meeting: at the latter, through the ſpringing up of living-waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having viſited the iſland, we went over to the main, taking meetings in our way, to Oblong, Nine-Partners and New-Milford.—In theſe back ſettlements we met with ſeveral people, who, through the immediate workings of the ſpirit

rit of Chriſt on their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world, to an inward acquaintance with him: they were educated in the way of the preſbyterians. A conſiderable number of the youth, members of that ſociety, were uſed to ſpend their time often together in merriment, but ſome of the principal young men of that company being viſited by the powerful workings of the ſpirit of Chriſt, and thereby led humbly to take up his croſs, could no longer join in thoſe vanities; and as theſe ſtood ſtedfaſt to that inward convincement, they were made a bleſſing to ſome of their former companions; ſo that, through the power of truth, ſeveral were brought into a cloſe exerciſe concerning the eternal well-being of their ſouls. Theſe young people continued for a time to frequent their publick worſhip; and beſides that, had meetings of their own; which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who ſometimes met with them: but, in time, their judgment in matters of religion diſagreeing with ſome of the articles of the preſbyterians, their meetings were diſapproved by that ſociety; and ſuch of them who ſtood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifeſted, had many difficulties to go through: and their meetings were in a while dropped; ſome of them returning to the preſbyterians, and others of them, after a time, joined to our religious ſociety.

I had converſation with ſome of the latter, to my help and edification; and believe ſeveral

ral of them are acquainted with the nature of that worſhip, which is performed in ſpirit and in truth. From hence, accompanied by Amos Powel, a friend from Long-Iſland, we rode through Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by preſbyterians; who were generally civil to us, ſo far as I ſaw: and after three days riding, we came amongſt friends in the colony of Rhode-Iſland. We viſited friends in and about Newport, and Dartmouth, and generally in thoſe parts; and then to Boſton; and proceeded eaſtward as far as Dover: and then returned to Newport, and not far from thence, we met our friend Thomas Gawthrop from England; who was then on a viſit to theſe provinces. From Newport we ſailed to Nantucket; were there near a week; and from thence came over to Dartmouth: and having finiſhed our viſit in theſe parts, we croſſed the Sound from New-London to Long-Iſland; and taking ſome meetings on the iſland, proceeded homeward; where we reached the thirteenth day of the ſeventh month, in the year 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and ſailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey, I may ſay in general, we were ſometimes in much weakneſs, and laboured under diſcouragements; and at other times, through the renewed manifeſtations of divine love, we had ſeaſons of refreſhment, wherein the power of truth prevailed.

We were taught, by renewed experience, to labour for an inward ſtillneſs; at no time

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to ſeek for words, but to live in the ſpirit of truth, and utter that to the people which truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged both to one meeting, came forth in the miniſtry near the ſame time, and were inwardly united in the work: he was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heavieſt burthen, and was an inſtrument of the greateſt uſe.

Finding a concern to viſit friends in the Lower Counties on Delaware, and on the Eaſtern Shore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with my well-beloved antient friend John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and ſet off the ſeventh day of the eighth month, in the year 1748, were at the meetings of friends in the lower counties, attended the yearly meeting at Little Creek, and made a viſit to chief of the meetings on the Eaſtern Shore; and ſo home by the way of Nottingham: were abroad about ſix weeks; and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exerciſe, at times, was heavy; but, through the goodneſs of the Lord, we were often refreſhed: and I may ſay, by experience, "He is a ſtrong hold in the day of trouble." Though our ſociety, in theſe parts, appeared to me to be in a declining condition; yet, I believe, the Lord hath a people amongſt them, who labout to ſerve him uprightly, but have many difficulties to encounter.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

His marriage—The death of his father—His journies into the upper part of New-Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania—Considerations on keeping slaves, and his visits to the families of friends at several times and places—An epistle from the general meeting—His journey to Long-Island—Considerations on trading, and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel—And his letter to a friend.

ABOUT this time believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires that he would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeable to his will; and He was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis; to whom I was married the eighteenth day of the eighth month, in the year 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father, Samuel Woolman, with a fever, aged about sixty years.

In his life-time he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of tenderness, not only towards

wards poor people, but alſo towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina in the year 1746, I made ſome obſervations on keeping ſlaves, which ſome time before his deceaſe I ſhewed him; and he peruſed the manuſcript, propoſed a few alterations, and appeared well ſatisfied that I found a concern on that account: and in his laſt ſickneſs, as I was watching with him one night, he being ſo far ſpent that there was no expectation of his recovery, but had the perfect uſe of his underſtanding, he aſked me concerning the manuſcript, whether I expected ſoon to proceed to take the advice of friends in publiſhing it? and, after ſome converſation thereon, ſaid, I have all along been deeply affected with the oppreſſion of the poor negroes; and now, at laſt, my concern for them is as great as ever.

By his direction, I had wrote his will in a time of health, and that night he deſired me to read it to him, which I did; and he ſaid, it was agreeable to his mind. He then made mention of his end, which he believed was now near; and ſignified, that though he was ſenſible of many imperfections in the courſe of his life, yet his experience of the power of truth, and of the love and goodneſs of God from time to time, even till now, was ſuch, that he had no doubt but that in leaving this life he ſhould enter into one more happy.

The next day his ſiſter Elizabeth came to ſee him, and told him of the deceaſe of their

ſiſter Ann; who died a few days before: he then ſaid, I reckon ſiſter Ann was free to leave this world? Elizabeth ſaid, ſhe was: he then ſaid, I alſo am free to leave it; and being in great weakneſs of body ſaid, I hope I ſhall ſhortly go to reſt. He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was ſenſible till near the laſt.

On the ſecond day of the ninth month, in the year 1751, feeling drawings in my mind to viſit friends at the Great Meadows, in the upper part of Weſt-Jerſey, with the unity of our monthly-meeting, I went there; and had ſome ſearching laborious exerciſe amongſt friends in thoſe parts, and found inward peace therein.

In the ninth month of the year 1753, in company with my well-eſteemed friend John Sykes, and with the unity of friends, we travelled about two weeks, viſiting friends in Bucks-County. We laboured in the love of the goſpel, according to the meaſure received; and, through the mercies of Him, who is ſtrength to the poor who truſt in him, we found ſatisfaction in our viſit: and in the next winter, way opening to viſit friends families within the compaſs of our monthly-meeting, partly by the labours of two friends from Pennſylvania, I joined in ſome part of the work; having had a deſire ſome time that it might go forward amongſt us.

About this time, a perſon at ſome diſtance lying ſick, his brother came to me to write his will: I knew he had ſlaves; and aſking his

his brother, was told he intended to leave them as ſlaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, and as offending ſober people was diſagreeble to my inclination, I was ſtraitened in my mind; but as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to his teſtimony: and I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing ſlavery to this people was not right; and had a ſcruple in my mind againſt doing writings of that kind: that though many in our ſociety kept them as ſlaves, ſtill I was not eaſy to be concerned in it; and deſired to be excuſed from going to write the will. I ſpake to him in the fear of the Lord; and he made no reply to what I ſaid, but went away: he alſo had ſome concerns in the practice; and I thought he was diſpleaſed with me. In this caſe I had a freſh confirmation, that acting contrary to preſent outward intereſt, from a motive of divine love, and in regard to truth and righteouſneſs, and thereby incurring the reſentments of people, opens the way to a treaſure better than ſilver, and to a friendſhip exceeding the friendſhip of men.

The manuſcript before-mentioned having laid by me ſeveral years, the publication of it reſted weightily upon me; and this year I offered it to the reviſal of friends, who, having examined and made ſome ſmall alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be publiſhed and diſperſed amongſt friends.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to join in a visit to friends families belonging to Chesterfield monthly-meeting; and having the approbation of our own, I went to their monthly-meeting in order to confer with friends, and see if way opened for it: I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning; but when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness: I kept my distress secret; and going with a friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his heavenly instruction; and in the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, being very low in my mind: and as mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before him, he was pleased graciously to afford help; so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service; part of which time was employed near home. And again in the following winter I was several weeks in the same service; some part of the time at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend John Sykes; and have cause humbly to acknowledge, that thro' the goodness of the Lord, our hearts were, at times, enlarged in his love; and strength was given

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to go through the trials which, in the courſe of our viſit, attended us.

From a diſagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this Continent; and an epiſtle to friends went forth from our general ſpring meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this journal.

An EPISTLE from our general ſpring meeting of miniſters and elders for Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey, held at Philadelphia, from the twenty-ninth of the third month, to the firſt of the fourth month, incluſive, 1755.

To friends on the continent of America.

Dear friends,

IN an humble ſenſe of divine goodneſs, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly ſalute you; and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profeſs the truth, as held forth and publiſhed by our worthy predeceſſors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that life which is the light of men, and be ſtrengthened to hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith without wavering, that our truſt may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as the duſt of the ballance, and her inhabitants as graſshoppers." Iſa. xl. 22.

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We (being convinced that the gracious deſign of the Almighty in ſending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by diſobedience, to finiſh ſin and tranſgreſſion, that his kingdom might come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven) have found it to be our duty to ceaſe from thoſe national conteſts productive of miſery and bloodſhed, and ſubmit our cauſe to Him the Moſt High, whoſe tender love to his children exceeds the moſt warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promiſed to his ſeed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forſake "thee." Heb. xiii. 5. And as we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on, "not by *earthly* might, nor by "power, but by my ſpirit, ſaith the Lord "of Hoſts:" Zech. iv. 6. By which operation, that ſpiritual kingdom is ſet up, which is to ſubdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppoſe it, and ſhall ſtand for ever. In a deep ſenſe thereof, and of the ſafety, ſtability and peace there is in it, we are deſirous that all who profeſs the truth, may be inwardly acquainted with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profeſſion: And we truſt, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from ſea to ſea, and from the river to the

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" ends of the earth," Zech. ix. 10. to the completion of thoſe propheſies already begun, that " nation ſhall not lift up a ſword " againſt nation, nor learn war any more." Iſa. ii. 4. Micah iv. 3.

And, dearly beloved friends, ſeeing we have theſe promiſes, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us conſtantly endeavour to have our minds ſufficiently diſentangled from the ſurfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world, that no earthly poſſeſſions nor enjoyments may bias our judgments, or turn us from that reſignation, and entire truſt in God, to which his bleſſing is moſt ſurely annexed; then may we ſay, " Our Redeemer is mighty, he will " plead our cauſe for us." Jer. l. 34. And if, for the further promoting his moſt gracious purpoſes in the earth, he ſhould give us to taſte of that bitter cup which his faithful ones have often partook of; O that we may be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear friends, with reſpect to the commotions and ſtirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are deſirous that none of us may be moved thereat; ' But repoſe ourſelves in the munition of ' that rock that all theſe ſhakings ſhall not ' move, even in the knowledge and feeling ' of the eternal power of God, keeping us ' ſubjectly given up to his heavenly will, and ' feel it daily to mortify that which remains ' in any of us which is of this world: for

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'the worldly part in any, is the changeable 'part, and that is up and down, full and 'empty, joyful and ſorrowful, as things go 'well or ill in this world; for as the truth 'is but one, and many are made partakers 'of its ſpirit, ſo the world is but one, and 'many are made partakers of the ſpirit of 'it; and ſo many as do partake of it, ſo 'many will be ſtraitened and perplexed with 'it: but they who are ſingle to the truth, 'waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of 'it in their hearts, theſe ſhall rejoice in the 'midſt of adverſity,' and have to experience with the prophet, That "Although the fig-"tree ſhall not bloſſom, neither ſhall fruit "be in the vines; the labour of the olive "ſhall fail, and the fields ſhall yield no "meat; the flock ſhall be cut off from the "fold, and there ſhall be no herd in the "ſtalls; yet will *they* rejoice in the Lord, "and joy in the God of *their* ſalvation." Hab. iii. 17, 18.

If, contrary to this, we profeſs the truth, and not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits diſagreeable to the purity thereof, and truſt to the ſtrength of man to ſupport ourſelves, therein our confidence will be vain. For He, who removed the hedge from his vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot, by reaſon of the wild grapes it produced, (Iſa. v. 5.) remains unchangeable: and if, for the chaſtiſement of wickedneſs, and the further promoting his

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own glory, he doth ariſe, even, to ſhake terribly the earth, who then may oppoſe him, and proſper!

We remain, in the love of the goſpel, your friends and brethren.

Signed by fourteen friends.

Scrupling to do writings relative to keeping ſlaves, having been a means of ſundry ſmall trials to me, in which I have ſo evidently felt my own will ſet aſide, that I think it good to mention a few of them—Tradeſmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their buſineſs for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good-will of their cuſtomers; nor is it a pleaſant thing for young men to be under any neceſſity to queſtion the judgment or honeſty of elderly men, and more eſpecially of ſuch who have a fair reputation. Deep-rooted cuſtoms, tho' wrong, are not eaſily altered; but it is the duty of every one to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may, I believe, under ſome circumſtances, keep him in his family as a ſervant, on no other motives than the negroe's good; but man, as man knows not what ſhall be after him, nor hath he any aſſurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wiſdom and goodneſs neceſſary rightly to exerciſe ſuch power: hence it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the ſcribe where wills are drawn,

drawn, in which ſome children are made abſolute maſters over others during life.

About this time, an antient man of good eſteem in the neighbourhood, came to my houſe to get his will wrote; he had young negroes; and I aſked him privately, how he purpoſed to diſpoſe of them? he told me: I then ſaid, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace; and reſpectfully gave him my reaſons for it: he ſignified that he had a choice that I ſhould have wrote it; but as I could not, conſiſtent with my conſcience, he did not deſire it: and ſo he got it wrote by ſome other perſon. And a few years after, there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will: his negroes were yet young; and his ſon, to whom he intended to give them, was, ſince he firſt ſpoke to me, from a libertine, become a ſober young man; and he ſuppoſed, that I would have been free, on that account, to write it. We had much friendly talk on the ſubject, and then deferred it: and a few days after, he came again, and directed their freedom; and ſo I wrote his will.

Near the time the laſt mentioned friend firſt ſpoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruiſe in his body, and ſent for me to bleed him; which being done, he deſired me to write his will: I took notes; and, amongſt other things, he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro: I conſidered the pain and diſtreſs he was in, and knew

knew not how it would end; ſo I wrote his will, ſave only that part concerning his ſlave, and carrying it to his bed-ſide, read it to him; and then told him in a friendly way, that I could not write any inſtruments by which my fellow-creatures were made ſlaves, without bringing trouble on my own mind: I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done; and deſired to be excuſed from doing the other part in the way he propoſed: we then had a ſerious conference on the ſubject; at length, he agreeing to ſet her free, I finiſhed his will.

Having found drawings in my mind to viſit friends on Long-Iſland, after obtaining a certificate from our monthly-meeting, I ſet off on the twelfth day of the fifth month, in the year 1756. When I reached the iſland, I lodged the firſt night at the houſe of my dear friend Richard Hallet: the next day, being the firſt of the week, I was at the meeting in Newtown; in which we experienced the renewed manifeſtations of the love of Jeſus Chriſt, to the comfort of the honeſt-hearted. I went that night to Fluſhing; and the next day, in company with my beloved friend Matthew Franklin, we croſſed the ferry at White-Stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the iſland; where I ſpent the remainder of the week in viſiting meetings. The Lord, I believe, hath a people in thoſe parts, who are honeſtly inclined to ſerve him; but many, I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward bearing

ing the croſs in ſuch faithfulneſs as he calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this viſit, both in public and private; and, at ſeveral places where I was, on obſerving that they had ſlaves, I found myſelf under a neceſſity, in a friendly way, to labour with them on that ſubject; expreſſing, as way opened, the inconſiſtency of that practice with the purity of the chriſtian religion, and the ill effects of it manifeſted amongſt us.

The latter end of the week, their yearly-meeting began; at which were our friends John Scarbrough, Jane Hoſkins, and Suſannah Brown, from Pennſylvania: the publick meetings were large, and meaſurably favoured with divine goodneſs.

The exerciſe of my mind, at this meeting, was chiefly on account of thoſe who were conſidered as the foremoſt rank in the ſociety: and in a meeting of miniſters and elders, way opened, that I expreſſed in ſome meaſure what lay upon me; and at a time when friends were met for tranſacting the affairs of the church, having ſet a while ſilent, I felt a weight on my mind, and ſtood up; and, through the gracious regard of our heavenly Father, ſtrength was given fully to clear myſelf of a burthen, which for ſome days had been increaſing upon me.

Through the humbling diſpenſations of Divine Providence, men are ſometimes fitted for his ſervice. The meſſages of the prophet Jeremiah were ſo diſagreeable to the people,

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and ſo reverſe to the ſpirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach; and in the weakneſs of nature, thought of deſiſting from his prophetick office; but, ſaith he, "His word was in my heart as a burning "fire ſhut up in my bones; and I was weary "with forbearing, and could not ſtay." I ſaw at this time, that if I was honeſt in declaring that which truth opened in me, I could not pleaſe all men; and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however diſagreeable to my own inclination. After this I went homeward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which meetings, the pure influence of divine love was manifeſted; in an humbling ſenſe whereof I went home: having been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and ſixteen miles.

While I was out on this journey, my heart was much affected with a ſenſe of the ſtate of the churches in our ſouthern provinces; and believing the Lord was calling me to ſome further labour amongſt them, I was bowed in reverence before him, with fervent deſires that I might find ſtrength to reſign myſelf up to his heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, beſides following my trade as a taylor; about which time, I grew uneaſy on account of my buſineſs growing too cumberſome. I had began with ſelling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to ſell cloths and linens; and, at length,

length, having got a conſiderable ſhop of goods, my trade increaſed every year, and the road to large buſineſs appeared open; but I felt a ſtop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living: I had but a ſmall family; and on ſerious conſideration, I believed truth did not require me to engage in much cumbering affairs: it had been my general practice to buy and ſell things really uſeful: things that ſerved chiefly to pleaſe the vain mind in people, I was not eaſy to trade in; ſeldom did it; and whenever I did, I found it weaken me as a chriſtian.

The increaſe of buſineſs became my burthen; for though my natural inclination was toward merchandize, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers: and there was now a ſtrife in my mind between the two; and in this exerciſe my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciouſly heard me, and gave me a heart reſigned to his holy will: then I leſſened my outward buſineſs; and, as I had opportunity, told my cuſtomers of my intentions, that they might conſider what ſhop to turn to: and, in a while, wholly laid down merchandize, following my trade as a taylor; myſelf only, having no apprentice. I alſo had a nurſery of apple-trees; in which I employed ſome of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming, and inoculating. In merchandiſe it is the cuſtom, where I lived, to ſell chiefly

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on credit, and poor people often get in debt; and when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often ſue for it at law. Having often obſerved occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to adviſe poor people to take ſuch goods as were moſt uſeful and not coſtly.

In the time of trading, I had an opportunity of ſeeing, that the too liberal uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and the cuſtom of wearing too coſtly apparel, led ſome people into great inconveniencies; and theſe two things appear to be often connected one with the other; for by not attending to that uſe of things which is conſiſtent with univerſal righteouſneſs, there is an increaſe of labour which extends beyond what our heavenly Father intends for us: and by great labour, and often by much ſweating, there is, even among ſuch who are not drunkards, a craving of ſome liquors to revive the ſpirits: that partly by the luxurious drinking of ſome, and partly by the drinking of others, (led to it through immoderate labour) very great quantities of rum are every year expended in our colonies; the greater part of which we ſhould have no need of, did we ſteadily attend to pure wiſdom.

Where men take pleaſure in feeling their minds elevated with ſtrong drink, and ſo indulge their appetite as to diſorder their underſtandings, neglect their duty as members in a family or civil ſociety, and caſt off all regard to religion, their caſe is much to be pitied; and where ſuch whoſe lives are for

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the moſt paſt regular, and whoſe examples have a ſtrong influence on the minds of others, adhere to ſome cuſtoms which powerfully draw to the uſe of more ſtrong liquor than pure wiſdom allows; this alſo, as it hinders the ſpreading of the ſpirit of meekneſs, and ſtrengthens the hands of the more exceſſive drinkers, is a caſe to be lamented.

As every degree of luxury hath ſome connexion with evil; for thoſe who profeſs to be diſciples of Chriſt, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, to have that mind in them, which was alſo in Chriſt, and ſo ſtand ſeparate from every wrong way, is a means of help to the weaker. As I have ſometimes been much ſpent in the heat, and taken ſpirits to revive me, I have found by experience, that in ſuch circumſtances the mind is not ſo calm, nor ſo fitly diſpoſed for divine meditation, as when all ſuch extremes are avoided; and I have felt an increaſing care to attend to that holy Spirit which ſets right bounds to our deſires; and leads thoſe who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of Divine Providence to the purpoſes for which they were intended. Did ſuch who have the care of great eſtates, attend with ſingleneſs of heart to this heavenly Inſtructor, which ſo opens and enlarges the mind, that men love their neighbours as themſelves, they would have wiſdom given them to manage, without finding occaſion to employ ſome people in the luxuries of life, or to make it neceſſary for others to labour too hard; but for

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want of ſteadily regarding this principle of divine love, a ſelfiſh ſpirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkneſs and manifold confuſions in the world.

Though trading in things uſeful is an honeſt employ; yet, through the great number of ſuperfluities which are bought and ſold, and through the corruption of the times, they who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his ſcribe: "Seekeſt thou great things "for thyſelf? ſeek them not."

In the winter, this year, I was engaged with friends in viſiting families; and, thro' the goodneſs of the Lord, we had oftentimes experience of his heart-tendering preſence amongſt us.

A copy of a letter wrote to a friend.

IN this thy late affliction I have found a deep fellow-feeling with thee; and had a ſecret hope throughout, that it might pleaſe the Father of mercies to raiſe thee up, and ſanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou being more fully acquainted with that way which the world eſteems fooliſh, may feel the cloathing of divine fortitude, and be ſtrengthened to reſiſt that ſpirit which leads from the ſimplicity of the everlaſting truth.

We may ſee ourſelves crippled and halting, and from a ſtrong bias to things pleaſant and eaſy, find an impoſſibility to advance forward; but things impoſſible with men are poſſible with God; and our wills being made ſubject to his, all temptations are ſurmountable.

This work of ſubjecting the will, is compared to the mineral in the furnace; which, thro' fervent heat, is reduced from its firſt principle: "He refines them as ſilver is "refined—He ſhall ſit as a refiner, and pu-"rifier of ſilver." By theſe compariſons, we are inſtructed in the neceſſity of the melting operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore him, and manifeſt that adoration, by inwardly turning away from that ſpirit in all its workings, which is not of him. To forward this work, the all-wiſe God is ſometimes pleaſed, thro' outward diſtreſs, to bring us near the gates of death; that life being painful and afflicting, and the proſpect of eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be looſened, and the mind prepared for that deep and ſacred inſtruction, which otherwiſe would not be received. If kind parents love their children and delight in their happineſs, then He, who is perfect goodneſs in ſending abroad mortal contagions, doth aſſuredly direct their uſe—Are the righteous removed by it, their change is happy; are the wicked taken away in their wickedneſs, the Almighty is clear: Do we

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paſs through with anguiſh and great bitterneſs, and yet recover, He intends that we ſhould be purged from droſs, and our ear opened to diſcipline.

And now on thy part, after thy ſore affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again reſtored, forget not Him who hath helped thee; but in humble gratitude hold faſt his inſtructions, thereby to ſhun thoſe bye paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am ſenſible of that variety of company, to which one in thy buſineſs muſt be expoſed: I have painfully felt the force of converſation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can ſympathize with others in ſuch conflicts, in that much weakneſs ſtill attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wiſdom, and commit my cauſe to God, not fearing to offend men, who take offence at the ſimplicity of truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the ſentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a ſnare; by halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our ſpirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd; that when we look at the way of the righteous, it ſeems as though it was not for us to follow them.

There is a love clothes my mind while I write, which is ſuperior to all expreſſions; and I find my heart open to encourage to a holy emulation, to advance forward in chriſt-

ian firmneſs. Deep humility is a ſtrong bulwark; and as we enter into it, we find ſafety and true exaltation: the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than man, and the weakneſs of God is ſtronger than man. Being uncloathed of our own wiſdom, and knowing the abaſement of the creature, therein we find that power to ariſe, which gives health and vigor to us.

CHAP. IV.

His viſiting the families of friends at Burlington — His journey to Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina — Conſiderations on the ſtate of friends there; and the exerciſe he was under in travelling among thoſe ſo generally concerned in keeping ſlaves: with ſome obſervations in converſation, at ſeveral times, on this ſubject — His epiſtle to friends at New-Garden and Cane-Creek — His thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of the negroes.

THE thirteenth day of the ſecond month, in the year 1757, being then in good health, and abroad with friends viſiting families, I lodged at a friend's houſe, in Burlington; and going to bed about the time uſual with me, I awoke in the night, and my

my meditations, as I lay, were on the goodneſs and mercy of the Lord; in a ſenſe whereof my heart was contrite: after this, I went to ſleep again; and ſleeping a ſhort time, I awoke; it was yet dark, and no appearance of day nor moonſhine; and as I opened mine eyes, I ſaw a light in my chamber at the apparent diſtance of five feet, about nine inches diameter, of a clear eaſy brightneſs, and near its center the moſt radiant: as I lay ſtill without any ſurprize looking upon it, words were ſpoken to my inward ear, which filled my whole inward man: they were not the effect of thought, nor any concluſion in relation to the appearance, but as the language of the Holy One ſpoken in my mind; the words were, CERTAIN EVIDENCE OF DIVINE TRUTH; and were again repeated exactly in the ſame manner; whereupon the light diſappeared.

Feeling the exerciſe in relation to a viſit to the Southern Provinces to increaſe upon me, I acquainted our monthly-meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate: expecting to go alone, one of my brothers, who lived in Philadelphia, having ſome buſineſs in North-Carolina, propoſed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of ſome outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion ſeemed ſome difficulty with me, whereupon I had converſation with him at ſundry times; and, at length, feeling eaſy in my mind, I had converſation with ſeveral elderly friends of Philadelphia on the ſubject;

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and he obtaining a certificate ſuitable to the occaſion, we ſet off in the fifth month of the year 1757: and coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, lodged at John Churchman's; and here I met with our friend Benjamin Buffington, from New-England, who was returning from a viſit to the Southern Provinces. Thence we croſſed the river Suſquehannah, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland; and ſoon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exerciſe came upon me, which I often had ſome feeling of ſince my mind was drawn toward theſe parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions.

As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labour of ſlaves, many of whom are uſed hardly, my concern was, that I might attend with ſingleneſs of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be ſo ſupported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

As it is common for friends on ſuch a viſit to have entertainment free of coſt, a difficulty aroſe in my mind with reſpect to ſaving my money by kindneſs received, which to me appeared to be the gain of oppreſſion.

Receiving a gift, conſidered as a gift, brings the receiver under obligations to the benefactor, and has a natural tendency to draw the obliged into a party with the giver. To prevent difficulties of this kind, and to preſerve the minds of judges from any bias,

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was that divine prohibition; "Thou ſhalt "not receive any gift: for a gift blindeth "the wiſe, and perverteth the words of the "righteous." Exod. xxiii. 8. As the diſciples were ſent forth without any proviſion for their journey, and our Lord ſaid the workman is worthy of his meat, their labour in the goſpel was conſidered as a reward for their entertainment, and therefore not received as a gift; yet, in regard to my preſent journey, I could not ſee my way clear in that reſpect. The difference appeared thus: The entertainment the diſciples met with, was from ſuch whoſe hearts God had opened to receive them, from a love to them, and the truth they publiſhed: but we, conſidered as members of the ſame religious ſociety, look upon it as a piece of civility to receive each other in ſuch viſits; and ſuch reception, at times, is partly in regard to reputation, and not from an inward unity of heart and ſpirit. Conduct is more convincing than language; and where people, by their actions, manifeſt that the ſlave-trade is not ſo diſagreeable to their principles but that it may he encouraged, there is not a ſound uniting with ſome friends who viſit them.

The proſpect of ſo weighty a work, and being ſo diſtinguiſhed from many who I eſteemed before myſelf, brought me very low; and ſuch were the conflicts of my ſoul, that I had a near ſympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakneſs, when he ſaid, "If "thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray

"thee,

" thee, if I have found favour in thy ſight;" Numb. xi. 15. but I ſoon ſaw that this proceeded from the want of a full reſignation to the divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abaſement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty, for his gracious and fatherly aſſiſtance; and then, after a time of deep trial, I was favoured to underſtand the ſtate mentioned by the pſalmiſt more clearly than ever I had before; to wit: " My ſoul is even as " a weaned child." Pſalm cxxxi. 2. Being thus helped to ſink down into reſignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempeſt in which I had been ſorely exerciſed, and in calmneſs of mind went forward, truſting that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a councellor to me in all difficulties; and that by his ſtrength I ſhould be enabled even to leave money with the members of ſociety where I had entertainment, when I found that omitting of it would obſtruct that work to which I believed he had called me: and as I copy this after my return, I may here add, that oftentimes I did ſo, under a ſenſe of duty; the way in which I did it was thus: when I expected ſoon to leave a friend's houſe where I had entertainment, if I believed that I ſhould not keep clear from the gain of oppreſſion without leaving money, I ſpoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and deſired them to accept of them pieces of ſilver, and give them to ſuch of their negroes as they believed would make

the beſt uſe of them; and at other times, I gave them to the negroes myſelf, as the way looked cleareſt to me: as I expected this before I came out, I had provided a large number of ſmall pieces; and thus offering them to ſome who appeared to be wealthy people, was a trial both to me and them: but the fear of the Lord ſo covered me at times, that my way was made eaſier than I expected; and few, if any, manifeſted any reſentment at the offer, and moſt of them, after ſome talk, accepted of them.

The ſeventh day of the fifth month, in the year 1757, lodged at a friend's houſe; and the next day, being the firſt of the week, was at Potapſco meeting; then croſſed Patuxent river, and lodged at a publick-houſe.

On the ninth breakfaſted at a friend's houſe; who afterward, putting us a little on our way, I had converſation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his ſlaves; in which my heart was tender, and I uſed much plainneſs of ſpeech with him, which he appeared to take kindly. We purſued our journey without appointing meetings, being preſſed in my mind to be at the yearly-meeting in Virginia; and in my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry riſe from the center of my mind, thus: O Lord, I am a ſtranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me. On the eleventh day of the fifth month, we croſſed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port-Royal: and on the way we happening in company with a colo-

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nel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man; I took occaſion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people uſed to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and buſineſs, and thoſe who live on the labour of ſlaves; the former, in my view, being the moſt happy life: with which he concurred, and mentioned the trouble ariſing from the untoward, ſlothful diſpoſition of the negroes; adding, that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their ſlaves. I replied, that free men, whoſe minds were properly on their buſineſs, found a ſatisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to ſupport others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but ſlavery during life, had not the like inducement to be induſtrious.

After ſome further converſation, I ſaid, that men having power, too often miſapplied it; that though we made ſlaves of the negroes, and the Turks made ſlaves of the Chriſtians, I however believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally: which he did not deny; but ſaid, the lives of the negroes were ſo wretched in their own country, that many of them lived better here than there: I only ſaid, there is great odds in regard to us, on what principle we act; and ſo the converſation on that ſubject ended: and I may here add, that another perſon, ſome time afterward, mentioned the wretch-

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edneſs of the negroes, occaſioned by their inteſtine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for ſlaves: to which I then replied, if compaſſion on the Africans, in regard to their domeſtic troubles, were the real motives of our purchaſing them, that ſpirit of tenderneſs being attended to, would incite us to uſe them kindly; that as ſtrangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us; and as they are human creatures, whoſe ſouls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the ſame help and comfort from the holy ſcriptures as we do, we could not omit ſuitable endeavours to inſtruct them therein: but while we manifeſt by our conduct, that our views in purchaſing them are to advance ourſelves; and while our buying captives taken in war, animates thoſe parties to puſh on that war, and increaſe deſolation amongſt them; to ſay they live unhappy in Africa, is far from being an argument in our favour: and I further ſaid, the preſent circumſtances of theſe provinces to me appear difficult; that the ſlaves look like a burthenſome ſtone to ſuch who burthen themſelves with them; and that if the white people retain a reſolution to prefer their outward proſpects of gain to all other conſiderations, and do not act conſcientiouſly toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burthen will grow heavier and heavier, till times change in a way diſagreeable to us: at which the perſon appeared very ſerious; and owned, that in conſidering their condi-

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tion, and the manner of their treatment in theſe provinces, he had ſometimes thought it might be juſt in the Almighty ſo to order it.

Having thus travelled through Maryland, we came amongſt friends at Cedar-Creek in Virginia, on the twelfth day of the fifth month; and the next day rode, in company with ſeveral friends, a day's journey to Camp-Creek: and as I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a ſenſe I had of the want of divine aid to ſupport me in the various difficulties which attended me; and in an uncommon diſtreſs of mind, I cried in ſecret to the Moſt High, O Lord be merciful, I beſeech thee, to thy poor afflicted creature. After ſome time, I felt inward relief; and ſoon after, a friend in company began to talk in ſupport of the ſlave-trade, and ſaid, the negroes were underſtood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackneſs being the mark God ſet upon him after he murthered Abel his brother; that it was the deſign of Providence they ſhould be ſlaves, as a condition proper to the race of ſo wicked a man as Cain was: then another ſpake in ſupport of what had been ſaid. To all which, I replied in ſubſtance as follows: That Noah and his family were all who ſurvived the flood, according to ſcripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly deſtroyed. One of them ſaid, that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod, and took a wife; that Nod was a land far diſtant, inhabited by Cain's race,

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and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was ſentenced to be a ſervant of ſervants to his brethren, theſe two families being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for ſlaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations; and it was granted, that Cain's ſtock was the moſt wicked, and therefore unreaſonable to ſuppoſe they were ſpared: as to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by ſome of Noah's family, before Ham married a ſecond time; moreover the text ſaith, "That all fleſh died that moved upon the "earth." Gen. vii. 21. I further reminded them, how the prophets repeatedly declare, "that the ſon ſhall not ſuffer for the iniqui-"ty of the father; but every one be an-"ſwerable for his own ſins." I was troubled to perceive the darkneſs of their imaginations; and in ſome preſſure of ſpirit ſaid, the love of eaſe and gain are the motives in general of keeping ſlaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to ſupport a cauſe which is unreaſonable; and added, I have no intereſt on either ſide, ſave only the intereſt which I deſire to have in the truth: and as I believe liberty is their right, and ſee they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other reſpects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He, who is a refuge for the oppreſſed, will, in his own time, plead their cauſe; and happy will it be for

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ſuch, who walk in uprightneſs before him: and thus our converſation ended.

On the fourteenth day of the fifth month I was at Camp-Creek monthly-meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James-River, and had a meeting at a friend's houſe; in both which I felt ſorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleaſed to afford a degree of ſtrength by which way was opened to clear my mind amongſt friends in thoſe places. From thence I went to Fork-Creek, and ſo to Cedar-Creek again; at which place I now had a meeting; here I found a tender ſeed: and as I was preſerved in the miniſtry to keep low with the truth; the ſame truth in their hearts anſwered it, that it was a time of mutual refreſhment from the preſence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standley's, father of William Standley, one of the young men who ſuffered impriſonment at Wincheſter laſt ſummer, on account of their teſtimony againſt fighting; and I had ſome ſatisfactory converſation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp-meeting, and to Wayanoke-meeting; and then croſſed James-River, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I have been much under ſorrow, which of late ſo increaſed upon me, that my mind was almoſt overwhelmed; and I may ſay with the pſalmiſt, "in my diſ-"treſs I called upon the Lord, and cried to "my God;" who, in infinite goodneſs, looked upon my affliction, and in my pri-

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vate retirement ſent the Comforter for my relief; for which I humbly bleſs his holy name.

The ſenſe I had of the ſtate of the churches, brought a weight of diſtreſs upon me: the gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed; and though this is the caſe too generally, yet the ſenſe of it in theſe parts hath, in a particular manner, borne heavy upon me. It appeared to me, that through the prevailing of the ſpirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to an inward deſolation; and inſtead of the ſpirit of meekneſs, gentleneſs, and heavenly wiſdom, which are the neceſſary companions of the true ſheep of Chriſt, a ſpirit of fierceneſs, and the love of dominion, too generally prevailed. From ſmall beginnings in errors, great buildings, by degrees, are raiſed; and from one age to another are more and more ſtrengthened by the general concurrence of the people: and as men obtain reputation by their profeſſion of the truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and thoſe of leſs note, to juſtify themſelves, ſay, ſuch and ſuch good men did the like. By what other ſteps could the people of Judah ariſe to that heighth in wickedneſs, as to give juſt ground for the prophet Iſaiah to declare in the name of the Lord, "that *none* "calleth for juſtice, nor *any* pleadeth for "truth:" Iſaiah lix. 4. or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jeruſalem, juſt before the Babyloniſh captivity, "If ye can

"find

" find a man, if there be any who executeth " judgment, that ſeeketh the truth, and I " will pardon it." Jer. v. 1. The proſpect of a road lying open to the ſame degeneracy, in ſome parts of this newly ſettled land of America, in reſpect to our conduct toward the negroes, hath deeply bowed my mind in this journey; and though to briefly relate how theſe people are treated is no agreeable work; yet, after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preſerve them. Many of the white people in thoſe provinces take little or no care of negro marriages; and when negroes marry after their own way, ſome make ſo little account of thoſe marriages, that with views of outward intereſt, they often part men from their wives by ſelling them far aſunder; which is common when eſtates are ſold by executors at vendue. Many whoſe labour is heavy, being followed, at their buſineſs in the field, by a man with a whip, hired for that purpoſe, have in common little elſe allowed but one peck of Indian corn and ſome ſalt for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raiſe by their labour on the firſt day of the week.

The correction enſuing on their diſobedience to overſeers, or ſlothfulneſs in buſineſs, is often very ſevere, and ſometimes deſperate.

Men and women have many times ſcarce cloaths enough to hide their nakedneſs, and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often quite naked amongſt their maſter's children;

dren: ſome of our ſociety, and ſome of the ſociety called new-lights, uſe ſome endeavours to inſtruct thoſe they have in reading; but in common this is not only neglected, but diſapproved. Theſe are the people by whoſe labour the other inhabitants are in a great meaſure ſupported, and many of them in the luxuries of life: theſe are the people who have made no agreement to ſerve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of: theſe are the ſouls for whom Chriſt died; and for our conduct toward them, we muſt anſwer before Him who is no reſpecter of perſons.

They who know the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, goſpel ſpirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled againſt oppreſſion and cruelty; and in beholding the great diſtreſs of ſo numerous a people, will find cauſe for mourning.

From my lodgings I went to Burleigh meeting, where I felt my mind drawn into a quiet reſigned ſtate; and after long ſilence, I felt an engagement to ſtand up; and thro' the powerful operation of divine love, we were favoured with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Black-Water; and ſo to the yearly-meeting at the Weſtern Branch: when buſineſs began, ſome queries were conſidered, by ſome of their members, to be now produced; and if approved, to be anſwered hereafter by their re-

ſpective monthly-meetings. They were the Pennſylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia yearly-meeting appointed the laſt year, who made ſome alterations in them; one of which alterations was made in favour of a cuſtom which troubled me. The query was, "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them after imported?" which they altered thus: "Are there any concerned in the importation of negroes, or buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are any concerned in buying or vending goods unlawfully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to ſay, that as we profeſſed the truth, and were there aſſembled to ſupport the teſtimony of it, it was neceſſary for us to dwell deep, and act in that wiſdom which is pure, or otherwiſe we could not proſper. I then mentioned their alteration; and, referring to the laſt mentioned query, added, as purchaſing any merchandize taken by the ſword, was always allowed to be inconſiſtent with our principles; negroes being captives of war, or taken by ſtealth, thoſe circumſtances make it inconſiſtent with our teſtimony to buy them; and their being our fellow-creatures, who are ſold as ſlaves, adds greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was ſaid; ſome expreſſed a care and concern about their negroes; none made any objection, by way of reply to what I ſaid; but the query was admitted

mitted as they had altered it. As ſome of their members have heretofore traded in negroes, as in other merchandize, this query, being admitted, will be one ſtep further than they have hitherto gone: and I did not ſee it my duty to preſs for an alteration; but felt eaſy to leave it all to Him, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty, and make way for the ſpreading of truth on the earth, by means agreeable to his infinite wiſdom. But in regard to thoſe they already had, I felt my mind engaged to labour with them; and ſaid, that, as we believe the ſcriptures were given forth by holy men, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable, and believe ourſelves bound in duty to teach our children to read them, I believe, that if we were diveſted of all ſelfiſh views, the ſame good ſpirit that gave them forth, would engage us to teach the negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them: ſome there were amongſt them who, at this time, manifeſted a concern in regard to taking more care in the education of their negroes.

On the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month, at the houſe where I lodged, was a meeting of miniſters and elders, at the ninth hour in the morning; at which time I found an engagement to ſpeak freely and plainly to them concerning their ſlaves; mentioning, how they, as the firſt rank in the ſociety, whoſe conduct in that caſe was much noticed

by others, were under the ſtronger obligations to look carefully to themſelves: expreſſing how needful it was for them, in that ſituation, to be thoroughly diveſted of all ſelfiſh views; that living in the pure truth, and acting conſcientiouſly toward thoſe people in their education and otherwiſe, they might be inſtrumental in helping forward a work ſo exceeding neceſſary, and ſo much neglected amongſt them. At the twelfth hour the meeting of worſhip began; which was a ſolid meeting.

On the thirtieth day, about the tenth hour, friends met to finiſh their buſineſs, and then the meeting for worſhip enſued, which to me was a laborious time; but, through the goodneſs of the Lord, truth, I believe, gained ſome ground; and it was a ſtrengthening opportunity to the honeſt-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epiſtle to friends in the back ſettlements of North-Carolina, as follows:

To friends at their monthly-meeting at New-Garden and Cane-Creek, in North-Carolina.

Dear friends,

IT having pleaſed the Lord to draw me forth on a viſit to ſome parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to come

come in perſon to viſit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they ariſe in the love of truth: Firſt, my dear friends, dwell in humility; and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that ſo your eyes being ſingle to the Lord, you may be preſerved in the way of ſafety. Where people let looſe their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in purſuing the profits, and ſeeking the friendſhips of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace; ſuch walk in a vain ſhadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting: their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treaſures, thus collected, do many times prove dangerous ſnares to their children.

But where people are ſincerely devoted to follow Chriſt, and dwell under the influence of his holy ſpirit, their ſtability and firmneſs, through a divine bleſſing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the weightineſs of their ſpirits ſecretly works on the minds of others; and in this condition, through the ſpreading influence of divine love, they feel a care over the flock; and way is opened for maintaining good order in the ſociety: and though we meet with oppoſition from another ſpirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekneſs, feeling our ſpirits ſubject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable wiſdom, the inward reward of quietneſs, will be greater than all our

difficulties.

difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of diſcipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth comes freſh in my way:—Dear young people, chooſe God for your portion; love his truth, and be not aſhamed of it; chooſe for your company ſuch who ſerve him in uprightneſs: and ſhun, as moſt dangerous, the converſation of thoſe whoſe lives are of an ill ſavour; for by frequenting ſuch company, ſome hopeful young people have come to great loſs, and been drawn from leſs evils to greater to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is ſo lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to thoſe which we partake of, in fully reſigning ourſelves to the divine will: theſe enjoyments add ſweetneſs to all other comforts, and give true ſatisfaction in company and converſation, where people are mutually acquainted with it; and as your minds are thus ſeaſoned with the truth, you will find ſtrength to abide ſtedfaſt to the teſtimony of it, and be prepared for ſervices in the church.

And now, dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderneſs, and may be numbered amongſt the firſt planters in one part of a province, I beſeech you, in the love of Jeſus Chriſt, to wiſely conſider the force of your examples, and think how much your ſucceſſors may be thereby affected: it is a help

help in a country; yea, and a great favour and a bleſſing, when cuſtoms firſt ſettled, are agreeable to ſound wiſdom: ſo when they are otherwiſe, the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themſelves encompaſſed with difficulties prepared for them by their predeceſſors.

As moderate care and exerciſe, under the direction of true wiſdom, is uſeful both to mind and body; ſo, by this means in general, the real wants of life are eaſily ſupplied: our gracious Father having ſo proportioned one to the other, that keeping in the true medium we may paſs on quietly. Where ſlaves are purchaſed to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneaſy, and frequently occaſions fourneſs and diſcontent in them; which affects the family, and ſuch who claim the maſtery over them: and thus people and their children are many times encompaſſed with vexations, which ariſe from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there are a large number of friends in your parts, who have no ſlaves; and in tender and moſt affectionate love, I beſeech you to keep clear from purchaſing any. Look, my dear friends, to Divine Providence; and follow in ſimplicity that exerciſe of body, that plainneſs and frugality, which true wiſdom leads to; ſo may you be preſerved from thoſe dangers which attend ſuch who are aiming at outward eaſe and greatneſs.

Treaſures,

Treaſures, though ſmall, attained on a true principle of virtue, are ſweet in the poſſeſſion; and while we walk in the light of the Lord, there is true comfort and ſatisfaction. Here, neither the murmurs of an oppreſſed people, nor throbbing uneaſy conſcience, nor anxious thoughts about the events of things, hinder the enjoyment of it.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the diviſion of our ſubſtance among our ſucceſſors; if we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honeſty, in equity, and in uprightneſs of heart before him, we may conſider it as his gift to us; and with a ſingle eye to his bleſſing, beſtow it on thoſe we leave behind us. Such is the happineſs of the plain ways of true virtue. "The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace; "and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs "and aſſurance for ever." Iſa. xxxii. 17.

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then in remote and ſolitary deſerts, you may find true peace and ſatisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is ſafety for us; for he is a ſtrong hold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that truſt in him.

Iſle of Wight County, in Virginia,
29th of the 5th month, 1757.

From

From the yearly-meeting in Virginia, I went to Carolina; and on the firſt day of the ſixth month, was at Wells monthly-meeting, where the ſpring of the goſpel miniſtry was opened, and the love of Jeſus Chriſt experienced amongſt us: to his name be the praiſe.

Here my brother joined with ſome friends from New-Garden, who were going homeward; and I went next to Simons-Creek monthly-meeting, where I was ſilent during the meeting for worſhip: and when buſineſs came on, my mind was exerciſed concerning the poor ſlaves; but did not feel my way clear to ſpeak: in this condition I was bowed in ſpirit before the Lord; and with tears and inward ſupplication beſought him, ſo to open my underſtanding, that I might know his will concerning me; and, at length, my mind was ſettled in ſilence: near the end of their buſineſs, a member of their meeting expreſt a concern, that had ſome time lain upon him, on account of friends ſo much neglecting their duty in the education of their ſlaves; and propoſed having meetings ſometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be only attended by ſome friends to be named in their monthly-meetings: many preſent appeared to unite with the propoſal: one ſaid, he had often wondered that they, being our fellow-creatures and capable of religious underſtanding, had been ſo exceedingly neglected: another expreſſed the like concern, and appeared zealous, that friends, in future, might more cloſely conſider it: at length

length a minute was made; and the further conſideration of it referred to their next monthly-meeting. The friend who made this propoſal hath negroes: he told me, that he was at New-Garden; about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; and that in this ſolitary journey, this exerciſe, in regard to the education of their negroes, was, from time to time, renewed in his mind. A friend of ſome note in Virginia, who hath ſlaves, told me, that he being far from home on a loneſome journey, had many ſerious thoughts about them; and that his mind was ſo impreſt therewith, that he believed that he ſaw a time coming, when Divine Providence would alter the circumſtance of theſe people, reſpecting their condition as ſlaves.

From hence I went to Newbegun-Creek, and ſat a conſiderable time in much weakneſs; then I felt truth open the way to ſpeak a little in much plainneſs and ſimplicity, till, at length, through the increaſe of divine love amongſt us, we had a ſeaſoning opportunity. From thence to the head of Little-River on a firſt-day, where was a crouded meeting; and, I believe, was, thro' divine goodneſs, made profitable to ſome. Thence to the Old-Neck; where I was led into a careful ſearching out the ſecret workings of the myſtery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itſelf againſt that pure ſpirit, which leads in the way of meekneſs and ſelf-denial. From thence to

Piney-

Pineywoods: this was the laſt meeting I was at in Carolina, and was large; and my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth into a fervent labour amongſt them.

When I was at Newbegun-Creek, a friend was there who laboured for his living, having no negroes, and had been a miniſter many years: he came to me the next day; and as we rode together, he ſignified that he wanted to talk with me concerning a difficulty he had been under, and related it near as follows: to wit, That as monies had of late years been raiſed by a tax to carry on the wars, he had a ſcruple in his mind in regard to paying it, and choſe rather to ſuffer diſtraint of his goods than pay it; and as he was the only perſon who refuſed it in thoſe parts, and knew not that any one elſe was in the like circumſtances, and ſignified that it had been a heavy trial to him; and more ſo, for that ſome of his brethren had been uneaſy with his conduct in that caſe: and added, that from a ſympathy he felt with me yeſterday in meeting, he found the freedom thus to open the matter, in the way of querying concerning friends in our parts: whereupon I told him the ſtate of friends amongſt us, as well as I was able; and alſo, that I had, for ſome time, been under the like ſcruple. I believed him to be one who was concerned to walk uprightly before the Lord; and eſteemed it my duty to preſerve this note concerning him Samuel Newby.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it

was

was a time of inward ſuffering; but, thro' the goodneſs of the Lord, I was made content: then to another meeting; where, thro' the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable ſeaſon.

Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences, that to be faithful to the Lord, and content with his will concerning me, is a moſt neceſſary and uſeful leſſon for me to be learning; looking leſs at the effects of my labour, than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it ariſes from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlaſting ſtrength; and as the mind, by a humble reſignation, is united to him, and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they ariſe from the heavenly ſpring, though our way may be difficult, and require cloſe attention to keep in it; and though the manner in which we may be led may tend to our own abaſement; yet, if we continue in patience and meekneſs, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.

From thence I went to Curles-meeting; which, though ſmall, was reviving to the honeſt-hearted. Thence to Black-Creek and Caroline meetings; from whence, accompanied by William Standley before-mentioned, we rode to Gooſe-Creek, being much thro' the woods, and about one hundred miles.—We lodged, the firſt night, at a publick-houſe; the ſecond, in the woods; and the next day, we reached a friend's houſe, at Gooſe-Creek. In the woods we lay under

ſome

ſome diſadvantage, having no fireworks nor bells for our horſes; but we ſtopped a little before night, and let them feed on the wild graſs which was plenty; in the mean time cutting with our knives a ſtore againſt night, and then tied them; and gathering ſome buſhes under an oak, we lay down; but the muſquetoes being plenty and the ground damp, I ſlept but little: thus lying in the wilderneſs, and looking at the ſtars, I was led to contemplate on the condition of our firſt parents, when they were ſent forth from the garden; but the Almighty, though they had been diſobedient, continued to be a father to them; and ſhewed them what tended to their felicity as intelligent creatures, and was acceptable to him. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wiſdom is good; and the gift of improving in things uſeful, is a good gift, and comes from the Father of lights. Many have had this gift; and, from age to age, there have been improvements of this kind made in the world: but ſome not keeping to the pure gift, have, in the creaturely cunning and ſelf-exaltation, ſought out many inventions; which inventions of men, as diſtinct from that uprightneſs in which man was created, as the firſt motion to them was evil, ſo the effects have been and are evil. That, at this day, it is as neceſſary for us conſtantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to uſe rightly the good things in this life amidſt great improvements, as it was for our

firſt

firſt parents, when they were without any improvements, without any friend or father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Gooſe-Creek; and next at a monthly-meeting at Fairfax; where, through the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. Thence to Manoquacy and Pipe-Creek, in Maryland; at both which places I had cauſe humbly to adore Him, who ſupported me through many exerciſes, and by whoſe help I was enabled to reach the true witneſs in the hearts of others: there were ſome hopeful young people in thoſe parts. Thence I had meetings at John Everit's in Monalen, and at Huntingdon; and I was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongſt the people in theſe new ſettlements, ſo that it was a time of encouragement to the honeſt-minded.

At Monalen, a friend gave me ſome account of a religious ſociety, among the Dutch, called mennoniſts; and, amongſt other things, related a paſſage in ſubſtance as follows:—One of the mennoniſts having acquaintance with a man of another ſociety at a conſiderable diſtance, and being with his waggon on buſineſs near the houſe of his ſaid acquaintance, and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him; but paſſing by his fields, and obſerving the diſtreſſed appearance of his ſlaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night: his ſaid acquaintance hearing where he lodged,

ed, and, afterward meeting theme nnoniſt, told him of it; adding, he ſhould have been heartily welcome at his houſe; and from their acquaintance in former time, wondered at his conduct in that caſe: the mennoniſt replied, ever ſince I lodged by thy field, I have wanted an opportunity to ſpeak with thee: the matter was; I intended to have come to thy houſe for entertainment, but ſeeing thy ſlaves at their work, and obſerving the manner of their dreſs, I had no liking to come to partake with thee: then admoniſhed him to uſe them with more humanity; and added, as I lay by the fire that night, I thought that as I was a man of ſubſtance, thou would have received me freely; but if I had been as poor as one of thy ſlaves, and had no power to help myſelf, I ſhould have received from thy hand no kinder uſage than they.

Hence I was at three meetings in my way: and ſo I went home, under a humbling ſenſe of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preſerving me through many trials and afflictions in my journey. I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Conſiderations on the payment of a tax, laid for carrying on the war againſt the Indians — Some notes on Thomas à Kempis and John Huſs—Meetings of the committee of the yearly-meeting at Philadelphia—The preſent circumſtances of friends in Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey, very different from thoſe of our predeceſſors—The draughting of the militia in New-Jerſey to ſerve in the army; with ſome obſervations on the ſtate of the members of our ſociety at that time—His viſit to friends in Pennſylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones—Proceedings at the monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, in Philadelphia, reſpecting thoſe who keep ſlaves.

A FEW years paſt, money being made current in our province for carrying on wars, and to be called in again by taxes laid on the inhabitants, my mind was often affected with the thoughts of paying ſuch taxes; and I believe it right for me to preſerve a memorandum concerning it: I was told, that friends in England frequently paid taxes, when the money was applied to ſuch purpoſes: I had converſation with ſeveral noted friends on the ſubject, who all favoured the payment of ſuch taxes; ſome of whom I preferred before myſelf, and this made me eaſier for a time; yet there was in the deeps

of

of my mind, a ſcruple which I never could get over; and, at certain times, I was greatly diſtreſſed on that account.

I all along believed that there were ſome upright-hearted men, who paid ſuch taxes; but could not ſee that their example was a ſufficient reaſon for me to do ſo, while I believed that the ſpirit of truth required of me, as an individual, to ſuffer patiently the diſtreſs of goods, rather than pay actively.

I have been informed that Thomas à Kempis lived and died in the profeſſion of the Roman catholic religion: and in reading his writings, I have believed him to be a man of a true chriſtian ſpirit; as fully ſo, as many who died martyrs becauſe they could not join with ſome ſuperſtitions in that church.

All true chriſtians are of the ſame ſpirit, but their gifts are diverſe; Jeſus Chriſt appointing to each one their peculiar office, agreeable to his infinite wiſdom.

John Huſs contended againſt the errors crept into the church, in oppoſition to the council of Conſtance; which the hiſtorian reports to have conſiſted of ſome thouſand perſons. He modeſtly vindicated the cauſe which he believed was right; and though his language and conduct toward his judges appear to have been reſpectful, yet he never could be moved from the principles ſettled in his mind. To uſe his own words: "This I moſt humbly require and deſire of you all, even for His ſake who is the God of us all, that I be not compelled to the thing which my

conſcience doth repugn or ſtrive againſt." And again, in his anſwer to the emperor: "I refuſe nothing, moſt noble emperor, whatſoever the council ſhall decree or determine upon me, only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conſcience." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 233. At length, rather than act contrary to that which he believed the Lord required of him, he choſe to ſuffer death by fire. Thomas à Kempis, without diſputing againſt the articles then generally agreed to, appears to have laboured, by a pious example as well as by preaching and writing, to promote virtue and the inward ſpiritual religion: And I believe they were both ſincere-hearted followers of Chriſt.

True charity is an excellent virtue: and ſincerely to labour for their good, whoſe belief, in all points, doth not agree with ours, is a happy ſtate. To refuſe the active payment of a tax which our ſociety generally paid, was exceeding diſagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conſcience, appeared yet more dreadful. When this exerciſe came upon me, I knew of none under the like difficulty; and, in my diſtreſs, I beſought the Lord to enable me to give up all, that ſo I might follow him whereſoever he was pleaſed to lead me: and under this exerciſe, I went to our yearly-meeting at Philadelphia, in the year 1755; at which a committee was appointed of ſome from each quarter, to correſpond with the meeting for ſufferings in London;

London, and another to viſit our monthly and quarterly-meetings; and after their appointment, before the laſt adjournment of the meeting, it was agreed in the meeting, that theſe two committees ſhould meet together in friends ſchool-houſe in the city, at a time then concluded on, to conſider ſome things in which the cauſe of truth was concerned; and theſe committees meeting together, had a weighty conference in the fear of the Lord; at which time, I perceived, there were many friends under a ſcruple like that before-mentioned *.

As ſcrupling to pay a tax on account of the application, hath ſeldom been heard of heretofore, even amongſt men of integrity, who have ſteadily borne their teſtimony againſt outward wars in their time; I may here note ſome things which have occurred to my mind, as I have been inwardly exerciſed on that account: from the ſteady oppoſition which faithful friends, in early times, made to wrong things then approved of, they were hated and perſecuted by men living in the ſpirit of this world; and ſuffering with firmneſs, they were made a bleſſing to the church, and the work proſpered. It equally concerns men, in every age, to take heed to their own ſpirit; and in comparing their ſitu-

* Chriſtians refuſed to pay taxes to ſupport heathen temples. See Primitive Chriſtianity, part III. page 327.

ation with ours, it looks to me there was leſs danger of their being infected with the ſpirit of this world, in paying ſuch taxes, than there is of us now: they had little or no ſhare in civil government; and many of them declared, they were, through the power of God, ſeparated from the ſpirit in which wars were; and being afflicted by the rulers on account of their teſtimony, there was leſs likelihood of uniting in ſpirit with them in things inconſiſtent with the purity of truth. We, from the firſt ſettlement of this land, have known little or no troubles of that ſort: their profeſſion, for a time, was accounted reproachful; but, at length, the uprightneſs of our predeceſſors being underſtood by the rulers, and their innocent ſufferings moving them, our way of worſhip was tolerated; and many of our members in theſe colonies became active in civil government. Being thus tried with favour and proſperity, this world hath appeared inviting; our minds have been turned to the improvement of our country, to merchandize and ſciences, amongſt which are many things uſeful, being followed in pure wiſdom; but in our preſent condition, that a carnal mind is gaining upon us, I believe will not be denied. Some of our members, who are officers in civil government, are, in one caſe or other, called upon in their reſpective ſtations to aſſiſt in things relative to the wars; ſuch being in doubt whether to act, or crave to be excuſed from their office, ſeeing their brethren united in the payment

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of a tax to carry on the ſaid wars, might think their caſe not much different, and ſo quench the tender movings of the Holy Spirit in their minds; and thus, by ſmall degrees, there might be an approach toward that of fighting, till we came ſo near it, as that the diſtinction would be little elſe, but the name of a peaceable people.

It requires great ſelf-denial and reſignation of ourſelves to God, to attain that ſtate wherein we can freely ceaſe from fighting when wrongfully invaded; if, by our fighting, there were a probability of overcoming the invaders: whoever rightly attains to it, does, in ſome degree, feel that ſpirit in which our Redeemer gave his life for us; and, thro' divine goodneſs, many of our predeceſſors, and many now living, have learned this bleſſed leſſon; but many others, having their religion chiefly by education, and not being enough acquainted with that croſs which crucifies to the world, do manifeſt a temper diſtinguiſhable from that of an entire truſt in God. In calmly conſidering theſe things, it hath not appeared ſtrange to me, that an exerciſe hath now fallen upon ſome, which, as to the outward means of it, is different from what was known to many of thoſe who went before us.

Some time after the yearly-meeting, a day being appointed, and letters wrote to diſtant members, the ſaid committees met at Philadelphia; and, by adjournments, continued ſeveral days. The calamities of war were now increaſing; the frontier inhabitants of

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Pennſylvania were frequently ſurprized, ſome ſlain, and many taken captive by the Indians; and while theſe committees ſat, the corps of one ſo ſlain was brought in a waggon, and taken through the ſtreets of the city, in his bloody garments, to alarm the people, and rouſe them up to war.

Friends thus met were not all of one mind in relation to the tax; which to ſuch who ſcrupled it made the way more difficult. To refuſe an active payment at ſuch a time, might be conſtrued an act of diſloyalty, and appeared likely to diſpleaſe the rulers, not only here but in England; ſtill there was a ſcruple ſo faſtened upon the minds of many friends, that nothing moved it: it was a conference the moſt weighty that ever I was at; and the hearts of many were bowed in reverence before the Moſt High. Some friends of the ſaid committees who appeared eaſy to pay the tax, after ſeveral adjournments, withdrew; others of them continued till the laſt: at length, an epiſtle of tender love and caution, to friends in Pennſylvania, was drawn by ſome friends concerned, on that ſubject; and being read ſeveral times and corrected, was then ſigned by ſuch of them as were free to ſign it, and afterward ſent to the monthly and quarterly-meetings.

On the ninth day of the eighth month, in the year 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, (Burlington) directing them to draft the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as ſoldiers, to

to the relief of the Engliſh at fort William-Henry, in New-York government: a few days after which, there was a general review of the militia at Mount-Holly, and a number of men choſen and ſent off under ſome officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draught three times as many, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march when freſh orders came: and on the ſeventeenth day of the eighth month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount-Holly, who agreed on a draught; and orders were ſent to the men ſo choſen, to meet their reſpective captains at ſet times and places; thoſe in our townſhip to meet at Mount-Holly; amongſt whom were a conſiderable number of our ſociety. My mind being affected herewith, I had freſh opportunity to ſee and conſider the advantage of living in the real ſubſtance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongſt the officers are men of underſtanding, who have ſome regard to ſincerity where they ſee it; and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, to put them to trouble on account of ſcruples of conſcience, is a painful taſk, and likely to be avoided as much as eaſily as may be: but where men profeſs to be ſo meek and heavenly-minded, and to have their truſt ſo firmly ſettled in God, that they cannot join in wars; and yet, by their ſpirit and conduct in common life, manifeſt

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a contrary diſpoſition, their difficulties are great at ſuch a time.

Officers in great anxiety endeavouring to get troops to anſwer the demands of their ſuperiors, ſeeing men, who are inſincere, pretend ſcruple of conſcience, in hopes of being excuſed from a dangerous employment, they are likely to be roughly handled. In this time of commotion ſome of our young men left the parts, and tarried abroad till it was over; ſome came, and propoſed to go as ſoldiers; others appeared to have a real tender ſcruple in their minds againſt joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehenſion of a trial ſo near: I had converſation with ſeveral of them to my ſatisfaction. At the ſet time when the captain came to town, ſome of thoſe laſt-mentioned went and told him in ſubſtance as follows:—That they could not bear arms for conſcience-ſake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being reſigned as to the event of it: at length the captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the preſent, and required them to provide themſelves as ſoldiers, and to be in readineſs to march when called upon. This was ſuch a time as I had not ſeen before; and yet I may ſay, with thankfulneſs to the Lord, that I believed this trial was intended for our good; and I was favoured with reſignation to him. The French army taking the fort they were beſieging, deſtroyed it and went away: the company of

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men firſt draughted, after ſome days march, had orders to return home; and thoſe on the ſecond draught, were no more called upon on that occaſion.

On the fourth day of the fourth month, in the year 1758, orders came to ſome officers, in Mount-Holly, to prepare quarters, a ſhort time, for about one hundred ſoldiers: and an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my houſe; and the officer told me, that he came to ſpeak with me, to provide lodging and entertainment for two ſoldiers, there being ſix ſhillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The caſe being new and unexpected, I made no anſwer ſuddenly; but ſat a time ſilent, my mind being inward: I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconſiſtent with the purity of the chriſtian religion; and to be hired to entertain men, who were then under pay as ſoldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and, after a ſhort time, I ſaid to the officer, if the men are ſent here for entertainment, I believe I ſhall not refuſe to admit them into my houſe; but the nature of the caſe is ſuch, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire: one of the men intimated, that he thought I might do it conſiſtent with my religious principles: to which I made no reply; as believing ſilence, at that time, beſt for me. Though they ſpake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my houſe about two weeks, and behaved himſelf civilly; and

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when the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my houſe in a paſſive obedience to authority. I was on horſeback when he ſpake to me: and as I turned from him, he ſaid, he was obliged to me: to which I ſaid nothing; but thinking on the expreſſion, I grew uneaſy; and afterwards, being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refuſed taking pay for keeping the ſoldier.

Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening, in company with a friend, to viſit a ſick perſon; and before our return, we were told of a woman living near, who, of late, had ſeveral days been diſconſolate, occaſioned by a dream; wherein death, and the judgments of the Almighty after death, were repreſented to her mind in a moving manner: her ſadneſs, on that account, being worn off; the friend, with whom I was in company, went to ſee her, and had ſome religious converſation with her and her huſband: with this viſit they were ſomewhat affected; and the man, with many tears, expreſſed his ſatisfaction: and, in a ſhort time after, the poor man being on the river in a ſtorm of wind, he, with one more, was drowned.

In the eighth month of the year 1758, having had drawings in my mind to be at the quarterly-meeting in Cheſter county, and at ſome meetings in the county of Philadelphia, I went firſt to ſaid quarterly-meeting, which

which was large; and ſeveral weighty matters came under conſideration and debate; and the Lord was pleaſed to qualify ſome of his ſervants with ſtrength and firmneſs, to bear the burthen of the day: though I ſaid but little, my mind was deeply exerciſed; and, under a ſenſe of God's love, in the anointing and fitting ſome young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before him. From hence I went to the youths meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother Benjamin Jones met me, by an appointment before I left home, to join in the viſit: and we were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North-Wales, Plymouth, and Abington meetings; and had cauſe to bow in reverence before the Lord our gracious God, by whoſe help way was opened for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The monthly-meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern, on account of ſome friends, who this ſummer (1758) had bought negro ſlaves: the ſaid meeting moved it totheir quarterly-meeting, to have the minute reconſidered in the yearly-meeting, which was made laſt on that ſubject: and the ſaid quarterly-meeting appointed a committee to conſider it, and report to their next; which committee having met once and adjourned, and I going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the yearly-meeting, was in town the evening on which the quarterly-meeting's com-

committee met the ſecond time; and finding an inclination to ſit with them, was, with ſome others, admitted; and friends had a weighty conference on the ſubject: and ſoon after their next quarterly-meeting, I heard that the caſe was coming to our yearly-meeting; which brought a weighty exerciſe upon me, and under a ſenſe of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aſide from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſtrengthen me; that ſetting aſide all views of ſelf-intereſt and the friendſhip of this world, I might ſtand fully reſigned to his holy will.

In this yearly-meeting, ſeveral weighty matters were conſidered; and toward the laſt, that in relation to dealing with perſons who purchaſe ſlaves. During the ſeveral ſittings of the ſaid meeting, my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer; and I could ſay with David, "that tears were my meat "day and night." The caſe of ſlave-keeping lay heavy upon me; nor did I find any engagement to ſpeak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now when this caſe was opened, ſeveral faithful friends ſpake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and feeling a concern to caſt in my mite, I ſaid, in ſubſtance, as follows:

"In the difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of truth inwardly manifeſted; and it is my earneſt

earneſt deſire, that in this weighty matter, we may be ſo truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear underſtanding of the mind of truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the ſociety, than any medium not in the clearneſs of divine wiſdom. The caſe is difficult to ſome who have them; but if ſuch ſet aſide all ſelf-intereſt, and come to be weaned from the deſire of getting eſtates, or even from holding them together, when truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open that they will know how to ſteer through thoſe difficulties."

Many friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work; and manifeſted much firmneſs in their love to the cauſe of truth, and univerſal righteouſneſs on the earth: and though none did openly juſtify the practice of ſlave-keeping in general, yet ſome appeared concerned, leſt the meeting ſhould go into ſuch meaſures, as might give uneaſineſs to many brethren; alledging, that if friends patiently continued under the exerciſe, the Lord, in time to come, might open a way for the deliverance of theſe people: and I finding an engagement to ſpeak, ſaid, "My mind is often led to conſider the purity of the Divine Being, and the juſtice of his judgments; and herein my ſoul is covered with awfulneſs: I cannot omit to hint of ſome caſes, where people have not been treated with the purity of juſtice, and the event hath been lamentable: Many ſlaves on this continent are oppreſſed, and their cries

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have reached the ears of the Moſt High. Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments, that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodneſs, he hath opened our underſtandings from one time to another, concerning our duty toward this people; and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be ſenſible of what he requires of us, and through a reſpect to the private intereſt of ſome perſons, or through a regard to ſome friendſhips which do not ſtand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmneſs and conſtancy, ſtill waiting for ſome extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance; it may be by terrible things in righteouſneſs, God may anſwer us in this matter."

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmneſs; and the love of truth, in a good degree, prevailed. Several friends, who had negroes, expreſſed their deſire that a rule might be made, to deal with ſuch friends as offenders who bought ſlaves in future: to this it was anſwered, that the root of this evil would never be effectually ſtruck at, until a thorough ſearch was made into the circumſtances of ſuch friends who kept negroes, with reſpect to the righteouſneſs of their motives in keeping them, that impartial juſtice might be adminiſtered throughout. Several friends expreſſed their deſire, that a viſit might be made to ſuch friends who kept ſlaves: and many friends ſaid, that they believed

lieved liberty was the negroes right; to which, at length, no oppoſition was made publicly: a minute was made more full on that ſubject, than any heretofore; and the names of ſeveral friends entered, who were free to join in a viſit to ſuch who kept ſlaves.

CHAP. VI.

His viſiting the quarterly-meetings in Cheſter county; and afterwards joining with Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in a viſit to ſuch as kept ſlaves there—Some obſervations on the conduct ſuch ſhould maintain who are concerned to ſpeak in meetings for diſcipline—Several more viſits to ſuch who kept ſlaves: and to friends near Salem—Some account of the yearly-meeting in the year 1759; and of the increaſing concern in divers provinces, to labour againſt buying and keeping ſlaves—The yearly-meeting epiſtle—His thoughts on the ſmall-pox ſpreading—and on inoculation.

ON the eleventh day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, I ſet out for Concord; the quarterly-meeting, heretofore held there, was now, by reaſon of a great increaſe of members, divided into two by the agreement of friends, at our laſt yearly meeting. Here I met

I met with our beloved friends Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby from England, and with Joſeph White from Bucks county, who had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious viſit to friends in England; and, through divine goodneſs, we were favoured with a ſtrengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joined with my friends Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in viſiting friends who had ſlaves; and at night we had a family meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable ſitting with a ſick neighbour; and thence to the burial of the corpſe of a friend at Uwchland meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of divine favour; after which, we viſited ſome who had ſlaves; and, at night, had a family meeting at a friend's houſe, where the channel of goſpel love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goſhen monthly-meeting: and thence, on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, attended the quarterly-meeting at London-Grove, it being the firſt held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned friends, and had ſome edifying meetings: and near the concluſion of the meeting for buſineſs, friends were incited to conſtancy in ſupporting the teſtimony of truth, and reminded of the neceſſity which

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the diſciples of Chriſt are under to attend principally to his buſineſs, as he is pleaſed to open it to us: and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth; to have our outward affairs in as little room as may be; that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from from diligently following the dictates of truth, in labouring to promote the pure ſpirit of meekneſs and heavenly-mindedneſs amongſt the children of men, in theſe days of calamity and diſtreſs; wherein God is viſiting our land with his juſt judgments.

Each of theſe quarterly-meetings were large, and ſat near eight hours. Here I had occaſion to conſider, that it is a weighty thing to ſpeak much in large meetings for buſineſs: firſt, except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly underſtand the caſe we ſpeak to, inſtead of forwarding, we hinder buſineſs, and make more labour for thoſe on whom the burthen of the work is laid.

If ſelfiſh views, or a partial ſpirit, have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear proſpect of the buſineſs, and proper weight on our minds to ſpeak, it behoves us to avoid uſeleſs apologies and repetitions: where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of buſineſs is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting; eſpecially when they have ſat ſix or ſeven hours, and have a great diſ-

tance to ride home. After this meeting I rode home.

In the beginning of the twelfth month of the year 1758, I joined in company with my friends John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in viſiting ſuch who had ſlaves: ſome, whoſe hearts were rightly exerciſed about them, appeared to be glad of our viſit; but in ſome places our way was more difficult; and I often ſaw the neceſſity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded; and have cauſe, in reverent thankfulneſs, humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preſerved my mind in calmneſs under ſome ſharp conflicts, and begat a ſpirit of ſympathy and tenderneſs in me, toward ſome who were grievouſly entangled by the ſpirit of this world.

In the firſt month of the year 1759, having found my mind drawn to viſit ſome of the more active members, in our ſociety at Philadelphia, who had ſlaves, I met my friend John Churchman there by an agreement; and we continued about a week in the city: we viſited ſome that were ſick, and ſome widows and their families; and the other part of our time was moſtly employed in viſiting ſuch who had ſlaves—It was a time of deep exerciſe, looking often to the Lord for his aſſiſtance; who, in unſpeakable kindneſs, favoured us with the influence of that ſpirit, which crucifies to the greatneſs and ſplendor of this world, and enabled us to go through

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ſome heavy labours, in which we found peace.

On the twenty-fourth day of the third month, of this year, I was at our General ſpring meeting at Philadelphia: after which, I again joined with John Churchman on a viſit to ſome more, who had ſlaves in Philadelphia; and, with thankfulneſs to our heavenly Father, I may ſay, that divine love and a true ſympathizing tenderneſs of heart, prevailed at times in this ſervice.

Having, at times, perceived a ſhyneſs in ſome friends, of conſiderable note, towards me, I found an engagement in goſpel love to pay a viſit to one of them; and as I dwelt under the exerciſe, I felt a reſignedneſs in my mind to go: ſo I went, and told him in private, I had a deſire to have an opportunity with him alone; to which he readily agreed: and then, in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that ſhyneſs were ſearched to the bottom; and we had a large conference, which, I believe, was of uſe to both of us; and am thankful that way was opened for it.

On the fourteenth day of the ſixth month, in the ſame year, having felt drawings in my mind to viſit friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our monthly-meeting therein, I attended their quarterly-meeting, and was out ſeven days, and at ſeven meetings; in ſome of which I was chiefly ſilent, and in others, thro' the baptizing power of truth, my heart was en-

larged in heavenly love, and found a near fellowſhip with the brethren and ſiſters, in the manifold trials attending their chriſtian progreſs through this world.

In the ſeventh month, I found an increaſing concern on my mind to viſit ſome active members in our ſociety who had ſlaves; and having no opportunity of the company of ſuch who were named on the minutes of the yearly-meeting, I went alone to their houſes, and, in the fear of the Lord, acquainted them with the exerciſe I was under: and thus, ſometimes, by a few words, I found myſelf diſcharged from a heavy burthen.

After this, our friend John Churchman coming into our province with a view to be at ſome meetings, and to join again in the viſit to thoſe who had ſlaves, I bore him company in the ſaid viſit to ſome active members, and found inward ſatisfaction.

At our yearly-meeting in the year 1759, we had ſome weighty ſeaſons; where the power of truth was largely extended, to the ſtrengthening of the honeſt-minded. As friends read over the epiſtles, to be ſent to the yearly-meetings along this continent, I obſerved in moſt of them, both this year and laſt, it was recommended to friends to labour againſt buying and keeping ſlaves; and in ſome of them cloſely treated upon. As this practice hath long been a heavy exerciſe to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account; and, at

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times, in ſome meetings been almoſt alone therein. Now obſerving the increaſing concern in our religious ſociety, and ſeeing how the Lord was raiſing up and qualifying ſervants for his work, not only in this reſpect, but for promoting the cauſe of truth in general, I was humbly bowed in thankfulneſs before him. This meeting continued near a week: and, for ſeveral days, in the forepart of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward ſtillneſs; and being, at times, covered with the ſpirit of ſupplication, my heart was ſecretly poured out before the Lord: and near the concluſion of the meeting for buſineſs way opened, that, in the pure flowings of divine love, I expreſſed what lay upon me; which, as it then aroſe in my mind, was "firſt to ſhew how deep anſwers to deep in the hearts of the ſincere and upright; though, in their different growths they may not all have attained to the ſame clearneſs in ſome points relating to our teſtimony: and I was led to mention the integrity and conſtancy of many martyrs, who gave their lives for the teſtimony of Jeſus; and yet, in ſome points, held doctrines diſtinguiſhable from ſome which we hold: and that, in all ages where people were faithful to the light and underſtanding which the Moſt High afforded them, they found acceptance with him; and that now, though there are different ways of thinking amongſt us in ſome particulars, yet, if we mutually kept to that ſpirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches

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us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all ſuperfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and ſerve the Lord, true unity may ſtill be preſerved amongſt us: and that if ſuch, who were, at times, under ſufferings on account of ſome ſcruples of conſcience, kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifeſted a ſpirit of true charity; it would be more likely to reach the witneſs in others, and be of more ſervice in the church, than if their ſufferings were attended with a contrary ſpirit and conduct." In which exerciſe I was drawn into a ſympathizing tenderneſs with the ſheep of Chriſt, however diſtinguiſhed one from another in this world; and the like diſpoſition appeared to ſpread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodneſs of the Lord toward his poor creatures.

An epiſtle went forth from this yearly-meeting, which I think good to give a place in this journal; being as follows:

From

From the yearly-meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey, from the twenty-ſecond day of the ninth month, to the twenty-eighth day of the ſame, incluſive, 1759.

To the quarterly and monthly meetings of friends belonging to the ſaid yearly-meeting.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

"IN an awful ſenſe of the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Lord our God, whoſe tender mercies have long been continued to us in this land, we affectionately ſalute you, with ſincere and fervent deſires, that we may reverently regard the diſpenſations of his providence, and improve under them."

"The empires and kingdoms of the earth are ſubject to his Almighty power: He is the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh; and deals with his people agreeable to that wiſdom, the depth whereof is to us unſearchable: we, in theſe provinces, may ſay, He hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers: it was He who ſtrengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderneſs, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives; ſo that by them they were comforted in times of want and diſtreſs:

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it was by the gracious influences of his holy ſpirit, that they were diſpoſed to work righteouſneſs, and walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives, and in life and converſation to manifeſt the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the chriſtian religion; and thereby they retain their eſteem and friendſhip: whilſt they were labouring for the neceſſaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and educate their children in the fear of the Lord."

"If we carefully conſider the peaceable meaſures purſued in the firſt ſettlement of the land, and that freedom from the deſolations of wars, which for a long time we enjoyed, we ſhall find ourſelves under ſtrong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is ſo generally polluted with wickedneſs, gave us a being in a part ſo ſignally favoured with tranquillity and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the goſpel of Chriſt are ſo freely publiſhed, that we may juſtly ſay with the pſalmiſt, "What ſhall "we render unto the Lord for all his bene-"fits?"

"Our own real good, and the good of our poſterity in ſome meaſure depends on the part we act; and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the juſt and unjuſt in a future ſtate, that to attend diligently to the dictates of the ſpirit of Chriſt, to devote ourſelves to his ſervice, and engage fervently in his

his cauſe, during our ſhort ſtay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature; we ſhall thus clearly ſee and conſider that the dealings of God with mankind in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, do ſufficiently evidence the truth of that ſaying, "it is righteouſneſs which exalteth a nation;" and though he doth not at all times ſuddenly execute his judgments on a ſinful people in this life, yet we ſee by many inſtances, that where "men follow "lying vanities, they forſake their own mercies;" and as a proud ſelfiſh ſpirit prevails and ſpreads among a people, ſo partial judgment, oppreſſion, diſcord, envy and confuſions increaſe, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adverſity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inſpired prophet, reaſoning with the degenerated Jews, ſaith, "Thine own wickedneſs "ſhall correct thee, and thy backſlidings "ſhall reprove thee: know therefore, that "it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou "haſt forſaken the Lord thy God, and "that my fear is not in thee, ſaith the Lord "God of Hoſts." Jer. ii. 19.

"The God of our fathers, who hath beſtowed on us many benefits, furniſhed a table for us in the wilderneſs, and made the deſarts and ſolitary places to rejoice; he doth now mercifully call upon us to ſerve him more faithfully—We may truly ſay with the prophet, "it is his voice which crieth to the "city, and men of wiſdom ſee his name:

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" They regard the rod, and him who hath " appointed it".—People who look chiefly at things outward, too little conſider the original cauſe of the preſent troubles; but ſuch who fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, they ſee and feel that a wrong ſpirit is ſpreading among the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Moſt High, in his viſitations to us, inſtead of calling, he lifteth up his voice and crieth; he crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the Engliſh and other nations, ſince the ſettlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders; many of our fellow ſubjects have ſuffered on and near our frontiers, ſome have been ſlain in battle, ſome killed in their houſes, and ſome in their fields, ſome wounded and left in great miſery, and others ſeparated from their wives and little children, who have been carried captives among the Indians: We have ſeen men and women, who have been witneſſes of theſe ſcenes of ſorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houſes aſking relief.—It is not long ſince it was the caſe of many young men in one of theſe provinces to be draughted, in order to be taken as ſoldiers; ſome where at that time in great diſtreſs, and had occaſion to conſider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and

ſpirituality of that religion which we profeſs, and found themſelves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardneſs for the truth's ſake is experienced.—Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to conſider, that their care to get outward treaſure for them, had been greater than their care for their ſettlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear teſtimony to the peaceable government of the Meſſiah. Theſe troubles are removed, and for a time we are releaſed from them."

"Let us not forget that "the Moſt High hath "his way in the deep, in clouds and in thick "darkneſs"--that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and oh! that theſe loud and awakening cries, may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chaſtiſement may not become neceſſary! For though things, as to the outward, may, for a ſhort time, afford a pleaſing proſpect; yet, while a ſelfiſh ſpirit, that is not ſubject to the croſs of Chriſt, continueth to ſpread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we deſire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at reſt in that ſtate of peace and happineſs, which ever continues; if we deſire in this life to dwell under the favour and protection of that almighty Being, whoſe habitation is in holineſs, whoſe ways are all equal and whoſe anger is now kindled, becauſe of our backſlidings

ſlidings; let us then awfully regard theſe beginnings of his ſore judgments, and with abaſement and humiliation turn to Him, whom we have offended."

"Contending with one equal in ſtrength, is an uneaſy exerciſe; but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we perſiſt to contend with Him who is Omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable."

"Do we feel an affectionate regard to poſterity; and are we employed to promote their happineſs? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own diſſolution; and are we contriving for the proſperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wiſe builders, lay the foundation deep; and by our conſtant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue, let them ſee that we really value it: let us labour in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preſerved from corruptions; that as they advance in age, they may rightly underſtand their true intereſt, may conſider the uncertainty of temporal things, and, above all, have their hope and confidence firmly ſettled in the bleſſing of that Almighty Being, who inhabits eternity, and preſerves and ſupports the world."

"In all our cares about worldly treaſures, let us ſteadily bear in mind, that riches poſſeſſed by children, who do not truly ſerve God, are likely to prove ſnares that may more grievouſly entangle them in that ſpirit of ſelfiſhneſs and exaltation, which ſtands in

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oppoſition to real peace and happineſs; and renders them enemies to the croſs of Chriſt, who ſubmit to the influence of it."

"To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to viſit the poor in their loneſome dwelling-places, to comfort them who, through the diſpenſations of Divine Providence, are in ſtrait and painful circumſtances in this life, and ſteadily to endeavour to honour God with our ſubſtance, from a real ſenſe of the love of Chriſt influencing our minds thereto, is more likely to bring a bleſſing to our children, and will afford more ſatisfaction to a chriſtian favoured with plenty, than an earneſt deſire to collect much wealth to leave behind us, for "here we have "no continuing city;" may we therefore diligently "ſeek one that is to come, whoſe "builder and maker is God."

"Finally, brethren, whatſoever things are "true, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſo-"ever things are pure, whatſoever things "are lovely, whatſoever things are of good "report; if there be any virtue, if there "be any praiſe, think on theſe things and "do them, and the God of peace ſhall be "with you."

Signed by appointment, and on behalf of our ſaid meeting, by ſeven friends.

On

On the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month, in the year 1759, I was at the quarterly-meeting in Bucks county: this day being the meeting of miniſters and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jeſus Chriſt; and the favour of the Moſt High was extended to us in that and the enſuing meeting.

I had converſation, at my lodging, with my beloved friend Samuel Eaſtburn; who expreſſed a concern to join in a viſit to ſome friends, in that county, who had negroes; and as I had felt a draught in my mind to that work in the ſaid county, I came home and put things in order: on the eleventh day of the twelfth month following, I went over the river; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting; where, through the deſcendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted, and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jeſus Chriſt.

Entering upon this viſit appeared weighty: and before I left home my mind was often ſad; under which exerciſe I felt, at times, the Holy Spirit which helps our infirmities; through which, in private, my prayers were, at times, put up to God, that he would be pleaſed to purge me from all ſelfiſhneſs, that I might be ſtrengthened to diſcharge my duty faithfully, how hard ſoever to the natural part. We proceeded on the viſit in a weighty frame of ſpirit, and went to the houſes of the moſt active members, throughout the county, who had negroes; and,

through

through the goodneſs of the Lord, my mind was preſerved in reſignation in times of trial, and though the work was hard to nature, yet through the ſtrength of that love which is ſtronger than death, tenderneſs of heart was often felt amongſt us in our viſits, and we parted from ſeveral families with greater ſatisfaction than we expected.

We viſited Joſeph White's family, he being in England; had alſo a family ſitting at the houſe of an elder who bore us company, and was at Makefield on a firſt day: at all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord, who was graciouſly pleaſed to renew his loving-kindneſs to us, his poor ſervants, uniting us together in his work.

In the winter of this year, the ſmall-pox being in our town, and many being inoculated, of which a few died, ſome things were opened in my mind, which I wrote as follow:

The more fully our lives are conformable to the will of God, the better it is for us.—I have looked on the ſmall-pox as a meſſenger from the Almighty, to be an aſſiſtant in the cauſe of virtue, and to incite us to conſider whether we employ our time only in ſuch things as are conſiſtent with perfect wiſdom and goodneſs.

Building houſes ſuitable to dwell in, for ourſelves and our creatures; preparing cloathing ſuitable for the climate and ſeaſon, and food convenient, are all duties incumbent on us: and under theſe general heads, are many branches of buſineſs, in which we

may

may venture health and life, as neceſſity may require.

This diſeaſe being in a houſe, and my buſineſs calling me to go near it, it incites me to think, whether this buſineſs is a real indiſpenſible duty; whether it is not in conformity to ſome cuſtom, which would be better laid aſide; or, whether it does not proceed from too eager a purſuit after ſome outward treaſure. If the buſineſs before me ſprings not from a clear underſtanding, and a regard to that uſe of things which perfect wiſdom approves; to be brought to a ſenſe of it, and ſtopped in my purſuit, is a kindneſs; for when I proceed to buſineſs without ſome evidence of duty, I have found, by experience, that it tends to weakneſs.

If I am ſo ſituated that there appears no probability of miſſing the infection, it tends to make me think, whether my manner of life, in things outward, has nothing in it which may unfit my body to receive this meſſenger in a way the moſt favourable to me. Do I uſe food and drink in no other ſort, and in no other degree, than was deſigned by Him, who gave theſe creatures for our ſuſtenance? Do I never abuſe my body by inordinate labour, ſtriving to accompliſh ſome end which I have unwiſely propoſed? Do I uſe action enough in ſome uſeful employ? Or, do I ſit too much idle, while ſome perſons, who labour to ſupport me, have too great a ſhare of it? If, in any of theſe

things,

things, I am deficient, to be incited to conſider it, is a favour to me.

There is employ neceſſary in ſocial life; and this infection, which often proves mortal, incites me to think, whether theſe ſocial acts of mine are real duties: if I go on a viſit to the widows and fatherleſs, do I go purely on a principle of charity, free from any ſelfiſh views? If I go to a religious meeting, it puts me on thinking, whether I go in ſincerity and in a clear ſenſe of duty; or whether it is not partly in conformity to cuſtom, or partly from a ſenſible delight which my animal ſpirits feel in the company of other people; and whether to ſupport my reputation as a religious man, has no ſhare in it.

Do affairs, relating to civil ſociety, call me near this infection? If I go, it is at the hazard of my health and life; and becomes me to think ſeriouſly, whether love to truth and righteouſneſs is the motive of my attending; whether the manner of proceeding, is altogether equitable; or whether aught of narrowneſs, party intereſt, reſpect to outward dignities, names, or diſtinctions among men, do not ſtain the beauty of thoſe aſſemblies, and render it doubtful, in point of duty, whether a diſciple of Chriſt ought to attend as a member united to the body or not.

Whenever there are blemiſhes which, for a ſeries of time, remain ſuch; that which is a means of ſtirring us up to look attentively on theſe blemiſhes, and to labour ac-

cording to our capacities, to have health and ſoundneſs reſtored in our country, we may juſtly account a kindneſs from our gracious Father, who appointed that mean.

The care of a wiſe and good man for his only ſon, is inferior to the regard of the great Parent of the univerſe for his creatures. He hath the command of all the powers and operations in nature; and "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men:" chaſtiſement is intended for inſtruction, and inſtruction being received by gentle chaſtiſement, greater calamities are prevented.

By an earthquake hundreds of houſes are ſometimes ſhaken down in a few minutes, and multitudes of people periſh ſuddenly; and many more being cruſhed and bruiſed in the ruins of the buildings, pine away and die in great miſery.

By the breaking in of enraged mercileſs armies, flouriſhing countries have been laid waſte, and great numbers of people periſhed in a ſhort time, and many more preſſed with poverty and grief.

By the peſtilence people have died ſo faſt in a city, that through fear, grief and confuſion, thoſe in health have found great difficulty in burying the dead, even without coffins.

By famine, great numbers of people, in ſome places, have been brought to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and pined away for want of the neceſſaries of life. Thus, where the kind invitations, and gentle chaſtiſements, of a

gracious

gracious God have not been attended to, his ſore judgments have, at times, been poured out upon people.

While ſome rules approved in civil ſociety, and conformable to human policy, ſo called, are diſtinguiſhable from the purity of truth and righteouſneſs: while many profeſſing truth, are declining from that ardent love and heavenly mindedneſs, which was amongſt the primitive followers of Jeſus Chriſt: it is a time for us to attend diligently to the intent of every chaſtiſement, and conſider the moſt deep and inward deſign of them.

The Moſt High doth not often ſpeak with an outward voice to our outward ears; but, if we humbly meditate on his perfections, conſider that he is perfect wiſdom and goodneſs, and to afflict his creatures to no purpoſe, would be utterly reverſe to his nature, we ſhall hear and underſtand his language, both in his gentle and more heavy chaſtiſements; and take heed that we do not, in the wiſdom of this world, endeavour to eſcape his hand by means too powerful for us.

Had he endowed men with underſtanding to hinder the force of this diſeaſe by innocent means, which had never proved mortal nor hurtful to our bodies, ſuch diſcovery might be conſidered as the period of chaſtiſement by this diſtemper, where that knowledge extended: but as life and health are his gifts, and not to be diſpoſed of in our own wills, to take upon us, when in health,

a diſtemper, of which ſome die, requires great clearneſs of knowledge, that it is our duty to do ſo.

CHAP. VII.

His viſit, in company with Samuel Eaſtburn, to Long-Iſland, Rhode-Iſland, Boſton, &c. in New-England — Remarks on the ſlave-trade at Newport, and his exerciſe on that account; alſo on lotteries — Some obſervations on the iſland of Nantucket.

HAVING, for ſome time paſt, felt a ſympathy in my mind with friends Eaſtward, I opened my concern in our monthly-meeting; and, obtaining a certificate, ſet forward on the ſeventeenth day of the fourth month, in the year 1760, joining in company, by a previous agreement, with my beloved friend Samuel Eaſtburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahaway and Plainfield; and were at their monthly-meeting of miniſters and elders in Rahaway. We laboured under ſome diſcouragement; but, through the inviſible power of truth, our viſit was made reviving to the lowly minded, with whom I felt a near unity of ſpirit, being

ing much reduced in my mind. We paſſed on, and viſited chief of the meetings on Long-Iſland. It was my concern, from day to day, to ſay no more nor leſs than what the ſpirit of truth opened in me, being jealous over myſelf, leſt I ſhould ſpeak any thing to make my teſtimony look agreeable to that mind in people, which is not in pure obedience to the croſs of Chriſt.

The ſpring of the miniſtry was often low; and, through the ſubjecting power of truth, we were kept low with it; and from place to place, ſuch whoſe hearts were truly concerned for the cauſe of Chriſt, appeared to be comforted in our labours; and, though it was in general a time of abaſement of the creature, yet, through His goodneſs, who is a helper of the poor, we had ſome truly edifying ſeaſons both in meetings, and in families where we tarried; and ſometimes found ſtrength to labour earneſtly with the unfaithful, eſpecially with thoſe, whoſe ſtation in families, or in the ſociety was ſuch, that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aſide from the purity and ſoundneſs of the bleſſed truth. At Jericho, on Long-Iſland, I wrote home as follows:

Dearly

24th of the 4th month, 1760.

Dearly beloved wife,

"WE are favoured with health; have been at ſundry meetings in Eaſt-Jerſey, and on this iſland: my mind hath been much in an inward watchful frame ſince I left thee, greatly deſiring that our proceedings may be ſingly in the will of our heavenly Father."

"As the preſent appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much ſhut up from outward chearfulneſs, remembering that promiſe, "Then ſhalt thou delight thyſelf in the Lord:"—as this, from day to day, has been revived in my memory, I have conſidered that his internal preſence on our minds, is a delight of all others the moſt pure; and that the honeſt-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He who regards the helpleſs and diſtreſſed, and reveals his love to his children under affliction, they delight in beholding his benevolence, and feeling divine charity moving upon them: of this I may ſpeak a little; for though, ſince I left you, I have often found an engaging love and affection toward thee and my daughter, and friends about home, that going out at this time, when ſickneſs is ſo great amongſt you, is a trial upon me; yet

yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherleſs, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whoſe minds are in captivity, for whoſe ſake my heart is, at times, moved with compaſſion, that I feel my mind reſigned to leave you for a ſeaſon, to exerciſe that gift which the Lord hath beſtowed on me; which, though ſmall, compared with ſome, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned toward my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who, I truſt cares for you; and under a ſenſe of his heavenly love, remain"

"Thy loving huſband,"

"J. W."

We croſſed from the eaſt end of Long-Iſland to New-London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind riſing high, the waves ſeveral times beat over us, that to me it appeared dangerous; but my mind was, at that time, turned to Him, who made and governs the deep, and my life was reſigned to him: and as he was mercifully pleaſed to preſerve us, I had freſh occaſion to conſider every day as a day lent to me; and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to Him who gave it.

We had five meetings in Narraganſet; and went thence to Newport on Rhode-Iſland.

Our

Our gracious Father preſerved us in an humble dependance on him through deep exerciſes, that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In ſeveral families in the country, where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private concerning their ſlaves; and, thro' divine aid, I was favoured to give up thereto: though, in this concern, I appear ſingular from many, whoſe ſervice in travelling, I believe, is greater than mine; I do not think hard of them for omitting it; I do not repine at having ſo unpleaſant a taſk aſſigned me, but look with awfulneſs to Him, who appoints to his ſervants their reſpective employments, and is good to all who ſerve him ſincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening: and on the next day viſited two ſick perſons, and had comfortable ſittings with them; and in the afternoon attended the burial of a friend.

The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; where the ſpring of the miniſtry was opened, and ſtrength given to declare the Word of Life to the people.

The next day we went on our journey; but the great number of ſlaves in theſe parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made deep impreſſion on me; and my cries were often put up to my heavenly Father in ſecret, that he would enable me to diſcharge my duty faithfully, in ſuch way as he might be pleaſed to point out to me.

We

We took Swanſea, Freetown, and Tanton, in our way to Boſton; where alſo we had a meeting; our exerciſe was deep, and the love of truth prevailed, for which I bleſs the Lord. We went eaſtward about eighty miles beyond Boſton, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preſerved in an humble dependance on that arm which drew us out; and, though we had ſome hard labour with the diſobedient, laying things home and cloſe to ſuch as were ſtout againſt the truth; yet, thro' the goodneſs of God, we had, at times, to partake of heavenly comfort with them who were meek, and were often favoured to part with friends in the nearneſs of true goſpel fellowſhip. We returned to Boſton, and had another comfortable opportunity with friends there; and thence rode back a day's journey eaſtward of Boſton: our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, and my companion and I conſidering it, expreſſed our freedom to go on without him, to which he conſented, and we reſpectfully took our leave of him; this we did, as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horſe.

We viſited the meetings in thoſe parts, and were meaſurably baptized into a feeling of the ſtate of the ſociety; and in bowedneſs of ſpirit went to the yearly-meeting at Newport; where I underſtood that a large number of ſlaves were imported from Africa into that town, and then on ſale by a member of our ſociety. At this meeting we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley,

ley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foſter, and Mercy Redman from our parts, all miniſters of the goſpel, of whoſe company I was glad.

At this time my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habbakuk, as there expreſſed. "When I heard my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myſelf that I might reſt in the day of trouble;" I had many cogitations, and was ſorely diſtreſſed: and was deſirous that friends might petition the legiſlature, to uſe their endeavours to diſcourage the future importation of ſlaves; for I ſaw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and bring diſtreſſes on the people in thoſe parts, for whoſe welfare my heart was deeply concerned.

But I perceived ſeveral difficulties in regard to petitioning; and ſuch was the exerciſe of my mind, that I had thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to ſpeak a few words in the Houſe of Aſſembly, then ſetting in town. This exerciſe came upon me in the afternoon, on the ſecond day of the yearly-meeting, and going to bed, I got no ſleep till my mind was wholly reſigned therein; and in the morning I enquired of a friend how long the Aſſembly were likely to continue ſitting; who told me, they were expected to be prorogued that day or the next.

As I was deſirous to attend the buſineſs of the meeting, and perceived the Aſſembly were likely to depart before the buſineſs was over; after conſiderable exerciſe, humbly

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ſeeking to the Lord for inſtruction, my mind ſettled to attend on the buſineſs of the meeting; on the laſt day of which, I had prepared a ſhort eſſay of a petition to be preſented to the legiſlature, if way opened: and being informed that there were ſome appointed, by that yearly-meeting, to ſpeak with thoſe in authority, in caſes relating to the ſociety, I opened my mind to ſeveral of them, and ſhewed them the eſſay I had made; and afterward opened the caſe in the meeting for buſineſs, in ſubſtance as follows:

"I have been under a concern for ſome time, on account of the great number of ſlaves which are imported into this colony; I am aware that it is a tender point to ſpeak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the ſight of heaven without ſpeaking to it. I have prepared an eſſay of a petition, if way open, to be preſented to the legiſlature; and what I have to propoſe to this meeting is, that ſome friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it ſuitable to be read in the meeting; if they ſhould think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting, after hearing it, to conſider, whether to take any further notice of it as a meeting or not." After a ſhort conference ſome friends went out, and looking over it, expreſſed their willingneſs to have it read; which being done, many expreſſed their unity with the propoſal; and ſome ſignified, that to have the ſubjects of the petition enlarged upon, and to be ſigned out of

meeting

meeting by ſuch who were free, would be more ſuitable than to do it there: though I expected at firſt, that if it was done it would be in that way; yet, ſuch was the exerciſe of my mind, that to move it in the hearing of friends when aſſembled, appeared to me as a duty; for my heart yearned toward the inhabitants of theſe parts; believing that by this trade there had been an increaſe of inquietude amongſt them, and a way made eaſy for the ſpreading of a ſpirit oppoſite to that meekneſs and humility, which is a ſure reſting-place for the ſoul: and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but increaſe their malady.

Having thus far proceeded, I felt eaſy to leave the eſſay amongſt friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed beſt. And now an exerciſe revived on my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in thoſe parts: I had once moved it in a former ſitting of this meeting, when arguments were uſed in favour of friends being held excuſed, who were only concerned in ſuch lotteries as were agreeable to law: and now on moving it again, it was oppoſed as before; but the hearts of ſome ſolid friends appeared to be united to diſcourage the practice amongſt their members; and the matter was zealouſly handled by ſome on both ſides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me, that the ſpirit of lotteries was a ſpirit of ſelfiſhneſs, which tended to confuſion and darkneſs

neſs of underſtanding; and that pleading for it in our meetings, ſet apart for the Lord's work, was not right: and in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an antient friend ſaid, which when I ſat down, I ſaw that my words were not enough ſeaſoned with charity; and after this, I ſpake no more on the ſubject. At length a minute was made; a copy of which was agreed to be ſent to their ſeveral quarterly-meetings, inciting friends to labour to diſcourage the practice amongſt all profeſſing with us.

Some time after this minute was made, I remaining uneaſy with the manner of my ſpeaking to the antient friend, could not ſee my way clear to conceal my uneaſineſs, but was concerned that I might ſay nothing to weaken the cauſe in which I had laboured; and then, after ſome cloſe exerciſe and hearty repentance, for that I had not attended cloſely to the ſafe guide, I ſtood up, and reciting the paſſage, acquainted friends, that tho' I dare not go from what I had ſaid as to the matter, yet I was uneaſy with the manner of my ſpeaking, as believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in ſome degree of creaturely abaſement, it appeared to have a good ſavor amongſt us, after a warm debate.

The yearly-meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a ſecret, though heavy, exerciſe in regard to ſome leading active members about Newport, being in the practice of ſlave-keeping. This I mentioned

to two antient friends, who came out of the country, and propoſed to them, if way opened, to have ſome converſation with thoſe friends: and thereupon, one of thoſe country friends and I, conſulted one of the moſt noted elders who had ſlaves; and he, in a reſpectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myſelf of what lay upon me. Now I had, near the beginning of the yearly-meeting, a private conference with this ſaid elder and his wife, concerning theirs; ſo that the way ſeemed clear to me, to adviſe with him about the manner of proceeding: I told him, I was free to have a conference with them all together in a private houſe; or if he thought they would take it unkind to be aſked to come together, and to be ſpoke with one in the hearing of another, I was free to ſpend ſome time among them, and viſit them all in their own houſes: he expreſſed his liking to the firſt propoſal, not doubting their willingneſs to come together: and as I propoſed a viſit to only miniſters, elders, and overſeers; he named ſome others, whom he deſired might be preſent alſo: and as a careful meſſenger was wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houſes to open the matter to them; and did ſo. About the eighth hour the next morning, we met in the meeting-houſe chamber, and the laſt-mentioned country friend, alſo my companion, and John Storer, with us; when, after a ſhort time of retirement, I acquainted them with the ſteps I had taken

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in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under; and ſo we proceeded to a free conference upon the ſubject. My exerciſe was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in ſpirit before the Lord, who was pleaſed to favour with the ſeaſoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderneſs amongſt us; and the ſubject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable ſpirit: and, at length, feeling my mind releaſed from that burthen which I had been under, I took my leave of them, in a good degree of ſatisfaction; and by the tenderneſs they manifeſted in regard to the practice, and the concern ſeveral of them expreſſed in relation to the manner of diſpoſing of their negroes after their deceaſe, I believed that a good exerciſe was ſpreading amongſt them; and I am humbly thankful to God, who ſupported my mind, and preſerved me in a good degree of reſignation through theſe trials.

Thou, who ſometimes travels in the work of the miniſtry, and art made very welcome by thy friends, ſeeſt many tokens of their ſatisfaction, in having thee for their gueſt. It is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayeſt feel and underſtand the ſpirits of people: if we believe truth points towards a conference on ſome ſubjects, in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindneſs, their freedom and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have ſeen, that in the midſt of kindneſs and ſmooth conduct, to ſpeak cloſe and home to them

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who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward intereſt, is hard labour; and ſometimes, when I have felt truth lead toward it, I have found myſelf diſqualified by a ſuperficial friendſhip; and as the ſenſe thereof hath abaſed me, and my cries have been to the Lord, ſo I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for his ſake; and thus a door hath opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to ſpeak of that which is the burthen of the word, in a way eaſy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the diſorder. To ſee the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and ſtill carry a face of friendſhip, this tends to undermine the foundation of true unity.

The office of a miniſter of Chriſt is weighty; and they who now go forth as watchmen, had need to be ſteadily on their guard againſt the ſnares of proſperity and an outſide friendſhip.

After the yearly-meeting, we were at meetings at Newtown, Cuſhnet, Long-Plain, Rocheſter and Dartmouth: from thence we ſailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, and ſeveral other friends: the wind being ſlack, we only reached Tarpawling Cove the firſt day; where, going on ſhore, we found room in a publick-houſe, and beds for a few of us, the reſt ſleeping on the floor: we went on board again about

break

break of day; and though the wind was ſmall, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then about ten of us getting into our boat, we rowed to the harbour before dark; whereupon a large boat going off, brought in the reſt of the paſſengers about midnight: the next day but one was their yearly-meeting, which held four days; the laſt of which, was their monthly-meeting for buſineſs. We had a laborious time amongſt them; our minds were cloſely exerciſed, and I believe it was a time of great ſearching of heart: the longer I was on the iſland, the more I became ſenſible that there was a conſiderable number of valuable friends there, though an evil ſpirit, tending to ſtrife, had been at work amongſt them: I was cautious of making any viſits, but as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had ſome ſittings in friends houſes, where the heavenly wing was, at times, ſpread over us, to our mutual comfort.

My beloved companion had very acceptable ſervice on this iſland.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to ſail the next day, if the weather was ſuitable and we well; and being called up the latter part of the night, we went on board a veſſel, being in all about fifty; but the wind changing, the ſeamen thought beſt to ſtay in the harbour till it altered; ſo we returned on ſhore: and feeling clear as to any further viſits, I ſpent my time in our chamber chiefly

alone; and after ſome hours, my heart being filled with the ſpirit of ſupplication, my prayers and tears were poured out before my heavenly Father, for his help and inſtruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life: and while I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a meſſenger from the women friends, who lodged at another houſe, deſiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at ſo many before; but after a ſhort conference, and adviſing with ſome elderly friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the friend, who firſt moved it, and who had been much ſhut up before, was largely opened in the love of the goſpel: and the next morning, about break of day, going again on board the veſſel, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night; where our horſes being brought, we proceeded toward Sandwich quarterly-meeting.

Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I obſerved many ſhoals in their bay, which make ſailing more dangerous, eſpecially in ſtormy nights; alſo, that a great ſhoal, which encloſes their harbour, prevents their going in with ſloops, except when the tide is up; waiting without which, for the riſing of the tide, is ſometimes hazardous in ſtorms: waiting within, they ſometimes miſs a fair wind. I took notice, that on that ſmall iſland was a great number of inhabitants, and the ſoil not very fertile; the timber ſo gone,

gone, that for veſſels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on the buying from the Main; the coſt whereof, with moſt of their other expences, they depend principally upon the whale fiſhery to anſwer. I conſidered, that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters more cleared, timber and wood would require more labour to get it: I underſtood that the whales being much hunted, and ſometimes wounded and not killed, grew more ſhy and difficult to come at: I conſidered that the formation of the earth, the ſeas, the iſlands, bays and rivers, the motions of the winds and great waters, which cauſe bars and ſhoals in particular places, were all the works of Him who is perfect wiſdom and goodneſs; and as people attend to his heavenly inſtruction, and put their truſt in him, he provides for them in all parts, where he gives them a being. And as in this viſit to theſe people, I felt a ſtrong deſire for their firm eſtabliſhment on the ſure foundation; beſides what was ſaid more publickly, I was concerned to ſpeak with the women friends, in their monthly-meeting of buſineſs, many being preſent; and in the freſh ſpring of pure love, to open before them the advantage, both inward and outward, of attending ſingly to the pure guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility, and the diſuſe of all ſuperfluities, reminding them of the difficulties their huſbands and ſons were frequently expoſed to at ſea; and that the more

plain and ſimple their way of living was, the leſs need of running great hazards to ſupport them in it; encouraging the young women in their neat decent way of attending themſelves on the affairs of the houſe; ſhewing, as the way opened, that where people were truly humble, uſed themſelves to buſineſs, and were content with a plain way of life, that it had ever been attended with more true peace and calmneſs of mind, than they have had who, aſpiring to greatneſs and outward ſhew, have graſped hard for an income to ſupport themſelves in it: and as I obſerved, they had few or no ſlaves amongſt them, I had to encourage them to be content without them; making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations, which frequently attend the minds of people, who depend on ſlaves to do their labour.

We attended the quarterly-meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceeded by a monthly-meeting; and in the whole held three days: we were various ways exerciſed amongſt them, in goſpel love, according to the ſeveral gifts beſtowed on us; and were, at times, overſhadowed with the virtue of truth, to the comfort of the ſincere, and ſtirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode-Iſland, taking one meeting in our way, which was a ſatisfactory time; and reaching Newport the evening before their quarterly-meeting, we attended it; and after

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that, had a meeting with our young people, ſeparated from thoſe of other ſocieties. We went thro' much labour in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt cloſe inward exerciſe to the laſt, I found inward peace; and was, in ſome degree comforted, in a belief, that a good number remain in that place, who retain a ſenſe of truth; and that there are ſome young people attentive to the voice of the heavenly Shepherd. The laſt meeting, in which friends from the ſeveral parts of the quarter came together, was a ſelect meeting; and through the renewed manifeſtation of the Father's love, the hearts of the ſincere were united together.

That poverty of ſpirit and inward weakneſs, with which I was much tried the fore part of this journey, has of late appeared to me as a diſpenſation of kindneſs. Appointing meetings, never appeared more weighty to me; and I was led into a deep ſearch, whether in all things my mind was reſigned to the will of God; often querying with myſelf, what ſhould be the cauſe of ſuch inward poverty; and greatly deſired, that no ſecret reſerve in my heart might hinder my acceſs to the divine fountain. In theſe humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend the ſecret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind which prepared the way to ſome duties, that in more eaſy and proſperous times as to the outward, I believe I ſhould have been in danger of omitting.

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From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick; and were helped to labour amongſt friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer: and then, accompanied by our friend John Caſey from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, viſited the meetings of friends in thoſe parts, and thence proceeded to the quarterly-meeting at Ryewoods; and, thro' the gracious extendings of divine help, had ſome ſeaſoning opportunities in thoſe places: ſo we viſited friends at New-York and Fluſhing; and thence to Rahaway: and here our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion and true yoke-mate Samuel Eaſtburn; and reached home on the tenth day of the eighth month, 1760, where I found my family well: and for the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgements; and find renewed deſires to dwell and walk in reſignedneſs before him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

His visits to Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury and Squan—His publishing the second part of his considerations on keeping negroes — The grounds of his appearing in some respects singular in his dress—His visiting the families of friends of Ancocas and Mount-Holly meetings — His visits to the Indians at Wehalooſing on the river Susquehannah.

HAVING felt my mind drawn toward a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off: and on the tenth day of the fifth month, 1761, being the first day of the week, I went to Haddonfield meeting, concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and come home or go on, as I might then believe best for me; and there, thro' the springing up of pure love, I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two quarterly and three monthly-meetings; and, in the love of truth, felt my way open to labour with some noted friends, who kept negroes: and as I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavoured to discharge what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein, from time to time; and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

In

In the eighth month, 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to viſit friends in and about Shrewſbury; I went there, and was at their monthly-meeting, and their firſt-day meeting; and had a meeting at Squan, and another at Squankum; and, as way opened, had converſation with ſome noted friends concerning their ſlaves: and I returned home in a thankful ſenſe of the goodneſs of the Lord.

From the care I felt growing in me ſome years, I wrote Conſiderations on keeping Negroes, part the ſecond; which was printed this year, 1762. When the overſeers of the preſs had done with it, they offered to get a number printed to be paid for, out of the yearly-meeting ſtock, and to be given away; but I being moſt eaſy to publiſh them at my own expence, and offering my reaſons they appeared ſatisfied.

This ſtock is the contribution of the members of our religious ſociety in general; amongſt whom are ſome who keep negroes, and being inclined to continue them in ſlavery, are not likely to be ſatisfied with thoſe books being ſpread amongſt a people where many of the ſlaves are taught to read, and eſpecially not at their expence; and ſuch, often receiving them as a gift, conceal them: But as they who make a purchaſe, generally buy that which they have a mind for, I believed it beſt to ſell them; expecting, by that means, they would more generally be read with attention. Advertiſements being ſigned

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by order of the overſeers of the preſs, directed to be read in monthly-meetings of buſineſs within our own yearly-meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the coſt of printing and binding them; many were taken off in our parts; ſome I ſent to Virginia, ſome to New-York, and ſome to Newport, to my acquaintance there; and ſome I kept, expecting to give part of them away, where there appeared a proſpect of ſervice.

In my youth I was uſed to hard labour; and though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure ſo much as many others: that being often weary, I was prepared to ſympathize with thoſe whoſe circumſtances in life, as free men, required conſtant labour to anſwer the demands of their creditors; and with others under oppreſſion. In the uneaſineſs of body, which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppreſſion, I have often been excited to think on the original cauſe of that oppreſſion, which is impoſed on many in the world: and the latter part of the time wherein I laboured on our plantation, my heart, through the freſh viſitations of heavenly love, being often tender; and my leiſure time frequently ſpent in reading the life and doctrines of our bleſſed Redeemer, the account of the ſufferings of martyrs, and the hiſtory of the firſt riſe of our ſociety: a belief was gradually ſettled in my mind, that if ſuch who had great eſtates, generally

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lived in that humility and plainneſs which belongs to a chriſtian life, and laid much eaſier rents and intereſts on their lands and monies, and thus led the way to a right uſe of things, ſo great a number of people might be employed in things uſeful, that labour both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ; and divers branches of buſineſs, which ſerve chiefly to pleaſe the natural inclinations of our minds, and which, at preſent, ſeems neceſſary to circulate that wealth which ſome gather, might, in this way of pure wiſdom, be diſcontinued. And as I have thus conſidered theſe things, a query, at times, hath ariſen: Do I, in all my proceedings, keep to that uſe of things which is agreeable to univerſal righteouſneſs? And then there hath ſome degree of ſadneſs, at times, come over me; for that I accuſtomed myſelf to ſome things, which occaſioned more labour than I believe divine wiſdom intends for us.

From my early acquaintance with truth, I have often felt an inward diſtreſs, occaſioned by the ſtriving of a ſpirit in me, againſt the operation of the heavenly principle; and in this circumſtance have been affected with a ſenſe of my own wretchedneſs, and in a mourning condition felt earneſt longing for that divine help, which brings the ſoul into true liberty; and ſometimes in this ſtate, retiring into private places, the ſpirit of ſupplication hath been given me; and under a heavenly covering, have aſked my gracious Father,

Father, to give me a heart in all things reſigned to the direction of his wiſdom, and in uttering language like this, the thoughts of my wearing hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, has made laſting impreſſions on me.

In viſiting people of note in the ſociety who had ſlaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have ſeen, and the ſight has affected me, that a conformity to ſome cuſtoms, diſtinguiſhable from pure wiſdom, has entangled many; and the deſire of gain to ſupport theſe cuſtoms, greatly oppoſed the work of truth: and ſometimes when the proſpect of the work before me has been ſuch, that in bowedneſs of ſpirit, I have been drawn into retired places, and beſought the Lord with tears that he would take me wholly under his direction, and ſhew me the way in which I ought to walk; it hath revived with ſtrength of conviction, that if I would be his faithful ſervant, I muſt in all things attend to his wiſdom, and be teachable; and ſo ceaſe from all cuſtoms contrary thereto, however uſed amongſt religious people.

As he is the perfection of power, of wiſdom, and of goodneſs; ſo I believe, he hath provided, that ſo much labour ſhall be neceſſary for men's ſupport, in this world, as would, being rightly divided, be a ſuitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into ſuperfluities, or graſp after wealth in a way contrary to his wiſdom, without having

having connection with ſome degree of oppreſſion, and with that ſpirit which leads to ſelf-exaltation and ſtrife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries, by parties contending about their claims.

Being thus fully convinced, and feeling an increaſing deſire to live in the ſpirit of peace; being often ſorrowfully affected with the thinking on the unquiet ſpirit in which wars are generally carried on, and with the miſeries of many of my fellow-creatures engaged therein; ſome ſuddenly deſtroyed; ſome wounded, and after much pain remain cripples; ſome deprived of all their outward ſubſtance, and reduced to want; and ſome carried into captivity. Thinking often on theſe things, the uſe of hats and garments dyed with a dye hurtful to them, and wearing more cloaths in ſummer than are uſeful, grew more uneaſy to me; believing them to be cuſtoms which have not their foundation in pure wiſdom. The apprehenſion of being ſingular from my beloved friends, was a ſtrait upon me; and thus I remained in the uſe of ſome things contrary to my judgment.

On the thirty-firſt day of the fifth month, 1761, I was taken ill of a fever; and, after having it near a week, I was in great diſtreſs of body: and one day there was a cry raiſed in me, that I might underſtand the cauſe why I was afflicted, and improve under it: and my conformity to ſome cuſtoms, which I believed were not right, were brought to my remembrance; and in the continuation

of

of the exerciſe, I felt all the powers in me yield themſelves up into the hands of Him who gave me being; and was made thankful, that he had taken hold of me by his chaſtiſement: feeling the neceſſity of further purifying, there was now no deſire in me for health, until the deſign of my correction was anſwered; and thus I lay in abaſement and brokenneſs of ſpirit, and as I felt a ſinking down into a calm reſignation, ſo I felt, as in an inſtant, an inward healing in my nature; and from that time forward I grew better.

Though I was thus ſettled in mind in relation to hurtful dyes, I felt eaſy to wear my garments heretofore made; and ſo continued about nine months. Then I thought of getting a hat the natural colour of the furr; but the apprehenſion of being looked upon as one affecting ſingularity, felt uneaſy to me: and here I had occaſion to conſider, that things, though ſmall in themſelves, being clearly enjoined by divine authority, became great things to us; and I truſted that the Lord would ſupport me in the trials that might attend ſingularity, while that ſingularity was only for his ſake: on this account, I was under cloſe exerciſe of mind in the time of our General ſpring meeting 1762, greatly deſiring to be rightly directed; when being deeply bowed in ſpirit before the Lord, I was made willing to ſubmit to what I apprehended was required of me; and when I returned

returned home, got a hat of the natural colour of the furr.

In attending meetings, this ſingularity was a trial upon me, and more eſpecially at this time, white hats being uſed by ſome who were fond of following the changeable modes of dreſs; and as ſome friends, who knew not on what motives I wore it, carried ſhy of me, I felt my way for a time ſhut up in the exerciſe of the miniſtry: and in this condition, my mind being turned toward my heavenly Father, with fervent cries that I might be preſerved to walk before him in the meekneſs of wiſdom, my heart was often tender in meetings; and I felt an inward conſolation, which to me was very precious under thoſe difficulties.

I had ſeveral dyed garments fit for uſe, which I believed it beſt to wear, till I had occaſion of new ones: and ſome friends were apprehenſive, that my wearing ſuch a hat ſavoured of an affected ſingularity: and ſuch who ſpake with me in a friendly way, I generally informed in a few words, that I believed my wearing it, was not in my own will. I had, at times, been ſenſible, that a ſuperficial friendſhip had been dangerous to me; and many friends being now uneaſy with me, I had an inclination to acquaint ſome with the manner of my being led into theſe things; yet, upon a deeper thought, I was for a time moſt eaſy to omit it, believing the preſent diſpenſation was profitable; and truſting, that

if

if I kept my place, the Lord in his own time would open the hearts of friends toward me: ſince which, I have had cauſe to admire his goodneſs and loving-kindneſs, in leading about and inſtructing, and opening and enlarging my heart in ſome of our meetings.

In the eleventh month of the year 1762, feeling an engagement of mind to viſit ſome families in Mansfield: I joined my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, and we ſpent a few days together in that ſervice. In the ſecond month 1763, I joined in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble, on a viſit to the families of friends at Ancocas; in both which viſits, through the baptizing power of truth, the ſincere labourers were often comforted, and the hearts of friends opened to receive us. And in the fourth month following, I accompanied ſome friends in a viſit to the families of friends in Mount-Holly; in which my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulneſs, wherein ſtrong deſires were raiſed for the everlaſting welfare of my fellow-creatures; and, through the kindneſs of our heavenly Father, our hearts were, at times, enlarged, and friends invited in the flowings of divine love to attend to that which would ſettle them on the ſure foundation.

Having many years felt love in my heart toward the natives of this land, who dwell far back in the wilderneſs, whoſe anceſtors were the owners and poſſeſſors of the land where

we

we dwell; and who, for a very ſmall conſideration, aſſigned their inheritance to us: and being at Philadelphia in the eighth month, 1761, on a viſit to ſome friends who had ſlaves, I fell in company with ſome of thoſe natives who lived on the eaſt branch of the river Suſquehannah, at an Indian town called Wehalooſing, two hundred miles from Philadelphia; and in converſation with them by an interpreter, as alſo by obſervations on their countenances and conduct, I believed ſome of them were meaſurably acquainted with that divine power which ſubjects the rough and froward will of the creature: and, at times, I felt inward drawings toward a viſit to that place of which I told none except my dear wife, until it came to ſome ripeneſs, and then in the winter, 1762, I laid it before friends at our monthly and quarterly, and afterwards at our General ſpring meeting; and having the unity of friends, and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia on buſineſs: and I being informed thereof by letter, met them in town in the fifth month, 1763; and after ſome converſation, finding they were ſober people, I, by the concurrence of friends in that place, agreed to join with them as companions in their return; and on the ſeventh day of the ſixth month following, we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulk's, at Richland in Bucks county. Now as this viſit felt weighty, and was performed at a

time

time when travelling appeared perilous, ſo the diſpenſations of Divine Providence, in preparing my mind for it, have been memorable; and I believe it good for me to give ſome hints thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unuſual ſadneſs; in which times, my heart was frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for his heavenly ſupport, that I might not fail to follow him whereſoever he might lead me: and being at our youth's meeting at Cheſterfield, about a week before the time I expected to ſet off, was there led to ſpeak on that prayer of our Redeemer to his Father: "I pray not that thou ſhouldeſt "take them out of the world, but that thou "ſhouldeſt keep them from the evil." And in attending to the pure openings of truth, had to mention what He elſewhere ſaid to his Father; "I know that thou heareſt me at all "times:" ſo that, as ſome of his followers kept their places, and as his prayer was granted, it followed neceſſarily that they were kept from evil: and as ſome of thoſe met with great hardſhips and afflictions in this world, and at laſt ſuffered death by cruel men; it appears, that whatſoever befalls men while they live in pure obedience to God, as it certainly works for their good, ſo it may not be conſidered an evil as it relates to them. As I ſpake on this ſubject, my heart was much tendered, and great awfulneſs came over me; and then, on the firſt

day of the next week, being at our own afternoon meeting, and my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to ſpeak on the care and protection of the Lord over his people, and to make mention of that paſſage where a band of Aſſyrians endeavouring to take captive the prophet were diſappointed; and how the pſalmiſt ſaid, "the angel of the "Lord encampeth round about them that "fear him." And thus, in true love and tenderneſs, I parted from friends, expecting the next morning to proceed on my journey; and being weary, went early to bed: and after I had been aſleep a ſhort time, I was awaked by a man calling at my door; and ariſing, was invited to meet ſome friends at a publick-houſe in our town, who came from Philadelphia ſo late, that friends were generally gone to bed: theſe friends informed me, that an expreſs arrived the laſt morning from Pittſburgh, and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the Engliſh weſtward, and ſlain and ſcalped Engliſh people in divers places, ſome near the ſaid Pittſburgh; and that ſome elderly friends in Philadelphia, knowing the time of my expecting to ſet off, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of theſe things, before I left home, that I might conſider them, and proceed as I believed beſt; ſo I, going again to bed, told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his heavenly inſtruction; and it was an humbling time

to

to me, When I told my dear wife, ſhe appeared to be deeply concerned about it; but in a few hours time, my mind became ſettled in a belief, that it was my duty to proceed on my journey; and ſhe bore it with a good degree of reſignation. In this conflict of ſpirit, there were great ſearchings of heart, and ſtrong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be in the leaſt degree attended to, but that of the pure ſpirit of truth.

The ſubjects before-mentioned, on which I had ſo lately ſpoke in publick, were now very freſh before me; and I was brought inwardly to commit myſelf to the Lord, to be diſpoſed of as he ſaw beſt. So I took leave of my family and neighbours, in much bowedneſs of ſpirit, and went to our monthly-meeting at Burlington; and after taking leave of friends there, I croſſed the river, accompanied by my friends Iſrael and John Pemberton; and parting the next morning with Iſrael, John bore me company to Samuel Foulk's; where I met the before-mentioned Indians, and we were glad to ſee each other: here my friend Benjamin Parvin met me, and propoſed joining as a companion, we having paſſed ſome letters before on the ſubject; and now on his account I had a ſharp trial; for as the journey appeared perilous, I thought if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we ſhould be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into theſe difficulties, would add to my own afflictions: ſo I told him my mind

freely, and let him know that I was reſigned to go alone; but after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me: it was indeed a time of deep exerciſe, and Benjamin appeared to be ſo faſtened to the viſit, that he could not be eaſy to leave me; ſo we went on, accompanied by our friends John Pemberton, and William Lightfoot of Pikeland, and lodged at Bethlehem; and there parting with John, William and we went forward on the ninth day of the ſixth month, and got lodging on the floor of a houſe, about five miles from Fort-Allen; here we parted with William: and at this place we met with an Indian trader, lately come from Wioming; and in converſation with him, I perceived that many white people do often ſell rum to the Indians, which, I believe, is a great evil; firſt, they being thereby deprived of the uſe of their reaſon, and their ſpirits violently agitated, quarrels often ariſe which end in miſchief; and the bitterneſs and reſentments occaſioned hereby, are frequently of long continuance: again, their ſkins and furrs, gotten thro' much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy cloathing, when they become intoxicated, they often ſell at a low rate for more rum; and afterward, when they ſuffer for want of the neceſſaries of life, are angry with thoſe who, for the ſake of gain, took the advantage of their weakneſs: of this their chiefs have often complained, at

their

their treaties with the Engliſh. Where cunning people paſs counterfeits, and impoſe that on others which is good for nothing, it is conſidered as a wickedneſs; but to ſell that to people which we know does them harm, and which often works their ruin, for the ſake of gain, manifeſts a hardened and corrupt heart; and is an evil, which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to ſuppreſs: and while my mind, this evening, was thus employed, I alſo remembered, that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; who venture to the outſide of a colony, that they may live more independant on ſuch who are wealthy, who often ſet high rents on their land: being renewedly confirmed in a belief, that if all our inhabitants lived according to ſound wiſdom, labouring to promote univerſal love and righteouſneſs, and ceaſed from every inordinate deſire after wealth, and from all cuſtoms which are tinctured with luxury, the way would be eaſy for our inhabitants, though much more numerous than at preſent, to live comfortably on honeſt employments, without having that temptation they are often under of being drawn into ſchemes to make ſettlements on lands which have not been purchaſed of the Indians, or of applying to that wicked practice of ſelling rum to them.

On the tenth day of the month we ſet out early in the morning, and croſſed the weſtern branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehie,

Lehie, near Fort-Allen; the water being high, we went over in a canoe: here we met an Indian, and had ſome friendly converſation with him, and gave him ſome biſcuit; and he having killed a deer, gave the Indians with us ſome of it: then after travelling ſome miles, we met ſeveral Indian men and women with a cow and horſe, and ſome houſhold goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wioming, and going to ſettle at another place; we made them ſome ſmall preſents; and ſome of them underſtanding Engliſh, I told them my motive in coming into their country; with which they appeared ſatisfied: and one of our guides talking a while with an antient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of ſincere affection. So going on, we pitched our tent near the banks of the ſame river, having laboured hard in croſſing ſome of thoſe mountains called the Blue Ridge; and by the roughneſs of the ſtones, and the cavities between them, and the ſteepneſs of the hills, it appeared dangerous: but we were preſerved in ſafety, through the kindneſs of Him whoſe works in thoſe mountainous deſerts appeared awful; toward whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the ſides of large trees peeled for that purpoſe, were various repreſentations of men going to, and returning from the wars, and of ſome killed in battle.

This

This being a path heretofore uſed by warriors; and as I walked about viewing thoſe Indian hiſtories, which were painted moſtly in red but ſome in black, and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce ſpirit produceth in the world; thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors, travelling over mountains and deſerts; thinking on their miſeries and diſtreſſes when wounded far from home by their enemies; and of their bruiſes and great wearineſs in chaſing one another over the rocks and mountains; and of their reſtleſs, unquiet ſtate of mind, who live in this ſpirit; and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of thoſe nations engaged in war with each other: during theſe meditations, the deſire to cheriſh the ſpirit of love and peace amongſt theſe people, aroſe very freſh in me. This was the firſt night that we lodged in the woods; and being wet with travelling in the rain, the ground, our tent, and the buſhes which we purpoſed to lay under our blankets alſo wet, all looked diſcouraging; but I believed, that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that he would diſpoſe of me as he ſaw good, and therein I felt eaſy: ſo we kindled a fire, with our tent open to it; and with ſome buſhes next the ground, and then our blankets, we made our bed; and lying down, got ſome ſleep: and in the morning, feeling a little unwell,

I went

I went into the river; the water was cold, but ſoon after I felt freſh and well.

The eleventh day of the ſixth month, the buſhes being wet, we tarried in our tent till about eight o'clock; when going on, croſſed a high mountain ſuppoſed to be upward of four miles over; the ſteepneſs on the north ſide exceeding all the others: we alſo croſſed two ſwamps; and it raining near night, we pitched our tent and lodged.

About noon, on our way, we were overtaken by one of the moravian brethren, going to Wehalooſing, and an Indian man with him who could talk Engliſh; and we being together while our horſes eat graſs, had ſome friendly converſation; but they travelling faſter than we, ſoon left us. This moravian, I underſtood, had ſpent ſome time this ſpring at Wehalooſing; and was, by ſome of the Indians, invited to come again.

The twelfth day of the ſixth month, and firſt of the week, it being a rainy day, we continued in our tent; and here I was led to think on the nature of the exerciſe which hath attended me: Love was the firſt motion, and thence a concern aroſe to ſpend ſome time with the Indians, that I might feel and underſtand their life, and the ſpirit they live in, if haply I might receive ſome inſtruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth amongſt them: and as it pleaſed the Lord to make way for my going at a time

when

when the troubles of war were increaſing, and when, by reaſon of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than uſual at that ſeaſon, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportunity to ſeaſon my mind, and bring me into a nearer ſympathy with them: and as mine eye was to the great Father of mercies, humbly deſiring to learn what his will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horſe, though hoppled, went away in the night; and after finding our own, and ſearching ſome time for him, his footſteps were diſcovered in the path going back again, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and after about ſeven hours returned with him: and here we lodged again; tying up our horſes before we went to bed, and looſing them to feed about break of day.

On the thirteenth day of the ſixth month, the ſun appearing, we ſet forward; and as I rode over the barren hills, my meditations were on the alterations of the circumſtances of the natives of this land ſince the coming in of the Engliſh. The lands near the ſea, are conveniently ſituated for fiſhing; the lands near the rivers, where the tides flow, and ſome above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the running of the tides, makes paſſing up and down eaſy with any kind of traffick. Thoſe natives have, in ſome places, for trifling conſiderations, ſold their inheritance ſo favourably ſituated;

ſituated; and in other places, been driven back by ſuperior force: ſo that, in many places, as their way of cloathing themſelves is now altered from what it was, and they, far remote from us, have to paſs over mountains, ſwamps, and barren deſarts, where travelling is very troubleſome, in bringing their ſkins and furrs to trade with us.

By the extending of Engliſh ſettlements, and partly by Engliſh hunters, the wild beaſts they chiefly depend on for a ſubſiſtance, are not ſo plenty as they were; and people too often, for the ſake of gain, open a door for them to waſte their ſkins and furrs, in purchaſing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and deſires being now very much broken, and my heart, with much earneſtneſs, turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me, I had a proſpect of the Engliſh along the coaſt, for upwards of nine hundred miles, where I have travelled; and the favourable ſituation of the Engliſh, and the difficulties attending the natives in many places, and the negroes, were open before me; and a weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a ſtrong engagement, that we might be obedient to the Lord while, in tender mercies, he is yet calling to us; and ſo attend to pure univerſal righteouſneſs, as to give no juſt cauſe of offence to the Gentiles, who do not profeſs chriſtianity,

chriſtianity, whether the blacks from Africa or the native inhabitants of this continent: and here I was led into a cloſe, laborious enquiry, whether I, as an individual, kept clear from all things which tended to ſtir up, or were connected with wars, either in this land or Africa; and my heart was deeply concerned, that in future I might in all things keep ſteadily to the pure truth, and live and walk in the plainneſs and ſimplicity of a ſincere follower of Chriſt. And in this lonely journey, I did, this day, greatly bewail the ſpreading of a wrong ſpirit, believing, that the proſperous, convenient ſituation of the Engliſh, requires a conſtant attention to divine love and wiſdom to guide and ſupport us in a way anſwerable to the will of that good, gracious, and almighty Being, who hath an equal regard to all mankind: and here, luxury and covetouſneſs, with the numerous oppreſſions, and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me; and I felt in that which is immutable, that the ſeeds of great calamity and deſolation are ſown and growing faſt on this continent: nor have I words ſufficient to ſet forth that longing I then felt, that we, who are placed along the coaſt, and have taſted the love and goodneſs of God, might ariſe in his ſtrength; and, like faithful meſſengers, labour to check the growth of theſe ſeeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our poſterity.

We

We reached the Indian ſettlement at Wioming; and here we were told, that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians taking an Engliſh fort weſtward, and deſtroying the people, and that they were endeavouring to take another; and alſo, that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the night before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles above Wehalooſing, and brought news, that ſome Indian warriors, from diſtant parts, came to that town with two Engliſh ſcalps; and told the people, that it was war with the Engliſh.

Our guides took us to the houſe of a very antient man; and ſoon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian houſe ſome diſtance off; and I perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and he having a tomahawk wrapped under his matchcoat out of ſight, as I approached him, he took it in his hand; I, however, went forward, and ſpeaking to him in a friendly way perceived he underſtood ſome Engliſh: my companion then coming out, we had ſome talk with him concerning the nature of our viſit in theſe parts; and then he going into the houſe with us, and talking with our guides, ſoon appeared friendly, and ſat down and ſmoaked his pipe. Tho' his taking his hatchet in his hand at the inſtant I drew near to him,

had

had a diſagreeable appearance, I believe he had no other intent than to be in readineſs in caſe any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by theſe Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged, that what Indians were about Wioming expected, in a few days, to move to ſome larger towns, I thought that, to all outward appearance, it was dangerous travelling at this time; and was, after a hard day's journey, brought into a painful exerciſe at night, in which I had to trace back, and view over the ſteps I had taken from my firſt moving in the viſit; and tho' I had to bewail ſome weakneſs which, at times, had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a willful diſobedience: and then as I believed I had, under a ſenſe of duty, come thus far, I was now earneſt in ſpirit beſeeching the Lord to ſhew me what I ought to do. In this great diſtreſs I grew jealous of myſelf, leſt the deſire of reputation, as a man firmly ſettled to perſevere through dangers, or the fear of diſgrace ariſing on my returning without performing the viſit, might have ſome place in me: thus I lay, full of thoughts, great part of the night, while my beloved companion lay and ſlept by me; till the Lord, my gracious Father, who ſaw the conflicts of my ſoul, was pleaſed to give quietneſs: then I was again ſtrengthened to commit my life, and all things relating thereto, into his heavenly hands;

hands; and getting a little ſleep toward day, when morning came we aroſe.

On the fourteenth day of the ſixth month, we fought out and viſited all the Indians hereabouts that we could meet with; they being chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged, in all perhaps twenty. Here I expreſſed the care I had on my mind for their good; and told them, that true love had made me willing thus to leave my family to come and ſee the Indians, and ſpeak with them in their houſes. Some of them appeared kind and friendly. So we took our leave of theſe Indians: and went up the river Suſquehannah, about three miles, to the houſe of an Indian, called Jacob January, who had killed his hog; and the women were making ſtore of bread, and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots left their canoe when they came down in the ſpring, which, lying dry, was leaky; ſo that we, being detained ſome hours, had a good deal of friendly converſation with the family; and eating dinner with them, we made them ſome ſmall preſents. Then putting our baggage in the canoe, ſome of them puſhed ſlowly up the ſtream, and the reſt of us rode our horſes; and ſwimming them over a creek, called Lahawahamunk, we pitched our tent a little above it, being a ſhower in the evening: and in a ſenſe of God's goodneſs in helping me in my diſtreſs, ſuſtaining me under trials, and inclining my heart to truſt in him, I lay down in an humble

humble bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

On the fifteenth day of the ſixth month, we proceeded forward till the afternoon; when a ſtorm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place; and the rain continuing, we ſtayed all night, which was ſo heavy, that it beat through our tent, and wet us and our baggage.

On the ſixteenth day, we found, on our way, abundance of trees blown down with the ſtorm yeſterday; and had occaſion reverently to conſider the kind dealings of the Lord, who provided a ſafe place for us in a valley, while this ſtorm continued. By the falling of abundance of trees acroſs our path, we were much hindered, and in ſome ſwamps our way was ſo ſtopped, that we got through with extream difficulty.

I had this day often to conſider myſelf as a ſojourner in this world; and a belief in the all-ſufficiency of God to ſupport his people in their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me; and I was induſtriouſly employed to get to a ſtate of perfect reſignation.

We ſeldom ſaw our canoe but at appointed places, by reaſon of the path going off from the river: and this afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehalooſing, who talks good Engliſh, and is acquainted with ſeveral people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river; and underſtanding where we expected to lodge, puſhed back about ſix miles, and came to us after night;

and

and in a while our own canoe came, it being hard work puſhing up ſtream. Job told us, that an Indian came in haſte to their town yeſterday, and told them, that three warriors, coming from ſome diſtance, lodged in a town above Wehalooſing a few nights paſt; and that theſe three men were going againſt the Engliſh at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province-ſtore at Shamokin. Though I was ſo far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from what I had been uſed to, I grew ſick: and the news of theſe warriors being on their march ſo near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a freſh trial of my faith; and tho', thro' the ſtrength of divine love, I had ſeveral times been enabled to commit myſelf to the divine diſpoſal, I ſtill found the want of my ſtrength to be renewed, that I might perſevere therein; and my cries for help were put up to the Lord, who, in great mercy, gave me a reſigned heart, in which I found quietneſs.

On the ſeventeenth day, parting from Job Chilaway, we went on, and reached Wehalooſing about the middle of the afternoon; and the firſt Indian that we ſaw, was a woman of a modeſt countenance, with a Bible, who firſt ſpake to our guide; and then, with a harmonious voice, expreſſed her gladneſs at ſeeing us, having before heard of our coming: then, by the direction of our guide,

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we ſat down on a log; and he went to the town, to tell the people we were come. My companion and I ſitting thus together, in a deep inward ſtillneſs, the poor woman came and ſat near us; and great awfulneſs coming over us, we rejoiced in a ſenſe of God's love manifeſted to our poor ſouls. After a while, we heard a conkſhell blow ſeveral times, and then came John Curtis, and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a houſe near the town, where we found, I ſuppoſe, about ſixty people ſitting in ſilence; and after ſitting a ſhort time, I ſtood up, and in ſome tenderneſs of ſpirit acquainted them with the nature of my viſit, and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to ſee them: all in a few ſhort ſentences, which ſome of them underſtanding, interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladneſs amongſt them. Then I ſhewed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the moravian, who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome.

On the eighteenth day, we reſted ourſelves this forenoon; and the Indians knowing that the moravian and I were of different religious ſocieties, and as ſome of their people had encouraged him to come and ſtay a while with them, were, I believe, concerned, that no jarring or diſcord might be in their meetings: and they, I ſuppoſe, having conferred together, acquainted me, that the people, at my requeſt, would, at any time,

come together, and hold meetings; and alſo told me, that they expected the moravian would ſpeak in their ſettled meetings, which are commonly held morning and near evening. So I found liberty in my heart to ſpeak to the moravian, and told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of theſe people; and that I believed no ill effects would follow it, if I ſometimes ſpake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of courſe: whereupon he expreſſed his good-will toward my ſpeaking at any time, all that I found in my heart to ſay: ſo near evening I was at their meeting, where the pure goſpel love was felt, to the tendering ſome of our hearts; and the interpreters endeavouring to acquaint the people with what I ſaid, in ſhort ſentences, found ſome difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the Engliſh and Delaware tongues, ſo they helped one another, and we laboured along, divine love attending: and afterwards feeling my mind covered with the ſpirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed aright, he would hear me, and expreſſed my willingneſs for them to omit interpreting; ſo our meeting ended with a degree of divine love: and before the people went out, I obſerved Papunehang (the man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender) ſpoke to one of the interpreters:

interpreters: and I was afterwards told that he ſaid in ſubſtance as follows; "I love to feel where words come from."

On the nineteenth day, and firſt of the week, this morning in the meeting the Indian who came with the moravian, being alſo a member of that ſociety, prayed; and then the moravian ſpake a ſhort time to the people: and in the afternoon, they coming together, and my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I ſpake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run ſtrong, told the interpreters, that I believed ſome of the people would underſtand me, and ſo I proceeded: in which exerciſe, I believe the Holy Ghoſt wrought on ſome hearts to edification, where all the words were not underſtood. I looked upon it as a time of divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord; and after I ſat down, one of the interpreters ſeemed ſpirited to give the Indians the ſubſtance of what I had ſaid.

Before our firſt meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of theſe Indians, who, by the permiſſion of the Six Nations, dwell in theſe parts; and a near ſympathy with them was raiſed in me; and my heart being enlarged in the love of Chriſt, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction, does not exceed what I then felt for that people.

I came to this place through much trouble; and though, through the mercies of God, I believed, that if I died in the journey, it would be well with me; yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors, were, in times of weakneſs, afflicting to me; and being of a tender conſtitution of body, the thoughts of captivity amongſt them were, at times, grievous; as ſuppoſing, that they being ſtrong and hardy, might demand ſervice of me beyond what I could well bear; but the Lord alone was my keeper; and I believed, if I went into captivity, it would be for ſome good end; and thus, from time to time, my mind was centered in reſignation, in which I always found quietneſs. And now, this day, though I had the ſame dangerous wilderneſs between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had ſtrengthened me to come on this viſit, and manifeſted a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine own eyes I appeared inferior to many amongſt the Indians.

When the laſt mentioned meeting was ended, it being night Papunehang went to bed; and one of the interpreters ſitting by me, I obſerved Papunehang ſpoke with an harmonious voice, I ſuppoſe, a minute or two: and aſking the interpreter, was told, that "he was expreſſing his thankfulneſs to God for the favours he had received that day; and prayed that he would continue to favour him with that ſame, which he had

experienced

experienced in that meeting." That though Papunehang had before agreed to receive the moravian, and join with them, he ſtill appeared kind and loving to us.

On the twentieth day, I was at two meetings, and ſilent in them.

The twenty-firſt day. This morning in meeting my heart was enlarged in pure love amongſt them, and in ſhort plain ſentences expreſſed ſeveral things that reſted upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily; after which the meeting ended in ſupplication, and I had cauſe humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindneſs of the Lord toward us; and then I believed that a door remained open for the faithful diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt, to labour amongſt theſe people.

I now feeling my mind at liberty to return, took my leave of them in general, at the concluſion of what I ſaid in meeting; and ſo we prepared to go homeward: but ſome of their moſt active men told us, that when we were ready to move, the people would chooſe to come and ſhake hands with us; which thoſe who uſually came to meeting did: and from a ſecret draught in my mind, I went amongſt ſome who did not uſe to go to meeting, and took my leave of them alſo: and the moravian and his Indian interpreter, appeared reſpectful to us at parting. This town ſtands on the bank of Suſquehannah, and conſiſts, I believe, of about forty houſes, moſtly compact together; ſome

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about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide, ſome bigger, ſome leſs; moſtly built of ſplit plank, one end ſet in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which lay rafters, and covered with bark. I underſtand a great flood laſt winter overflowed the chief part of the ground where the town ſtands; and ſome were now about moving their houſes to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be our company; but when we were ready to go, we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with ſkins and furrs, who choſe to go in company with us: ſo they loaded two canoes, which they deſired us to go in, telling us, that the waters were ſo raiſed with the rains, that the horſes ſhould be taken by ſuch who were better acquainted with the fording places: ſo we, with ſeveral Indians, went in the canoes, and others went on horſes, there being ſeven beſides ours. And we meeting with the horſemen once on the way by appointment, and then near night, a little below a branch called Tankhannah, we lodged there; and ſome of the young men going out a little before duſk with their guns, brought in a deer.

On the twenty-ſecond day, through diligence, we reached Wioming before night, and underſtood the Indians were moſtly gone from this place: here we went up a ſmall creek into the woods with our canoes, and, pitching our tent, carried out our baggage; and before dark our horſes came to us.

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On the twenty-third day in the morning their horſes were loaded, and we prepared our baggage and ſo ſet forward, being in all fourteen; and with diligent travelling were favoured to get near half way to Fort-Allen. The land on this road from Wioming to our frontier being moſtly poor, and good graſs ſcarce, they choſe a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the beſt for graſing; and I having ſweat much in travelling, and being weary ſlept ſound; I perceived in the night that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured to get better ſoon.

On the twenty-fourth day we paſſed Fort-Allen, and lodged near it in the woods.

Having forded the weſterly branch of Delaware three times, and thereby had a ſhorter way, and miſſed going over the top of the blue mountains, called the Second Ridge. In the ſecond time fording, where the river cuts thro' the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, and my companion's mare being a tall tractable animal, he ſundry times drove her back thro' the river, and they loaded her with the burthens of ſome ſmall horſes, which they thought not ſufficient to come thro' with their loads.

The troubles weſtward, and the difficulty for Indians to paſs thro' our frontier, I apprehend was one reaſon why ſo many came; as expecting that our being in company, would prevent the outſide inhabitants from being ſurprized.

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On the twenty-fifth day we reached Bethlehem, taking care on the way to keep foremoſt, and to acquaint people on and near the road who theſe Indians were: this we found very needful; for the frontier inhabitants were often alarmed at the report of Engliſh being killed by Indians weſtward.

Amongſt our company were ſome who I did not remember to have ſeen at meeting, and ſome of theſe at firſt were very reſerved; but we being ſeveral days together, and behaving friendly toward them, and making them ſuitable returns for the ſervices they did us, they became more free and ſociable.

On the twenty-ſixth day and firſt of the week, having carefully endeavoured to ſettle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey; we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted with us affectionately; ſo we getting to Richland, had a very comfortable meeting amongſt our friends: here I parted with my kind friend and companion Benjamin Parvin; and accompanied by my friend Samuel Foulk, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, where I found my family middling well; and they and my friends all along appeared glad to ſee me return from a journey which they apprehended dangerous: but my mind, while I was out, had been ſo employed in ſtriving for a perfect reſignation, and I had ſo often been confirmed in a belief, that whatever the Lord might be pleaſed to allot for me, would

work

work for good: I was careful leaſt I ſhould admit any degree of ſelfiſhneſs in being glad overmuch, and laboured to improve by thoſe trials in ſuch a manner as my gracious Father and protector intends for me. Between the Engliſh inhabitants and Wehalooſing, we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with buſhes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying acroſs it, theſe, together with the mountains, ſwamps, and rough ſtones, make it a difficult road to travel; and the more ſo, for that rattleſnakes abound there, of which we killed four: that people who have never been in ſuch places, have but an imperfect idea of them; but I was not only taught patience, but alſo made thankful to God, who thus led me about and inſtructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whoſe ſituation in life is difficult.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

His religious converſation with a company met to ſee the tricks of a juggler — His account of John Smith's advice, and of the proceedings of a committee, at the yearly-meeting in 1764 *— Contemplations on the nature of true wiſdom, occaſioned by hearing of the cruelty of the Indians to their captives — His viſiting the families of friends at Mount-Holly, Mansfield and Burlington in* 1764, *and the meetings on the ſea coaſt from Cape May toward Squan in* 1765 *— His viſit to the Lower Counties on Delaware and the Eaſtern Shore of Maryland in* 1766, *in company with John Sleeper; with ſome account of Joſeph Nichols and his followers; and obſervations on the different ſtate of the firſt ſettlers in Pennſylvania who depended on their own labour, and thoſe of the ſouthern provinces who kept negroes — His viſiting the northern parts of New-Jerſey the ſame year, and the weſtern parts of Maryland and Pennſylvania in* 1767, *and afterwards other parts of Pennſylvania and the families of friends at Mount-Holly; and again ſeveral parts of Maryland in* 1768 *— Further conſiderations on keeping ſlaves; and his concern for having formerly, as an executor, been party to the ſale of one; and what he did in conſequence of it — Thoughts on*

friends

friends exerciſing offices in civil government.

THE latter part of the ſummer, 1763, there came a man to Mount-Holly, who had before publiſhed, by a printed advertiſement, that at a certain publick-houſe, he would ſhew many wonderful operations, which he therein enumerated.

This man, at the time appointed, did, by ſlight of hand, ſundry things; which, to thoſe gathered, appeared ſtrange.

The next day, I hearing of it, and underſtanding that the ſhew was to be continued the next night, and the people to meet about ſun-ſet, felt an exerciſe on that account: ſo I went to the publick-houſe in the evening, and told the man of the houſe that I had an inclination to ſpend a part of the evening there; with which he ſignified that he was content. Then ſitting down by the door, I ſpake to the people as they came together, concerning this ſhew; and more coming and ſitting down with us, the ſeats at the door were moſtly filled; and I had converſation with them in the fear of the Lord, and laboured to convince them that thus aſſembling to ſee thoſe tricks or ſlights of hands, and beſtowing their money to ſupport men who in that capacity were of no uſe in the world, was contrary to the nature of the chriſtian religion.

There was one of the company who, for a time, endeavoured by arguments to ſhew

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the reaſonableneſs of their proceedings herein; but after conſidering ſome texts of ſcripture, and calmly debating the matter, he gave up the point. So having ſpent about an hour amongſt them, and feeling my mind eaſy, I departed.

At our yearly-meeting at Philadelphia, on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month, 1764, John Smith of Marlborough, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful miniſter, tho' not eloquent, ſtood up in our meeting of miniſters and elders, and appearing to be under a great exerciſe of ſpirit, informed friends in ſubſtance as follows: to wit, "That he had been a member of the ſociety upward of ſixty years, and well remembered that in thoſe early times friends were a plain lowly-minded people; and that there was much tenderneſs and contrition in their meetings.—That at twenty years from that time, the ſociety increaſing in wealth, and in ſome degree conforming to the faſhions of the world, true humility was leſs apparent, and their meetings in general not ſo lively and edifying.—That at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; that wearing of fine coſtly garments, and uſing of ſilver (and other) watches, became cuſtomary with them, their ſons, and their daughters, and many of the ſociety made a ſpacious appearance in the world; which marks of outward wealth and greatneſs, appeared on ſome in our meetings of miniſters and elders; and as theſe things became more prevalent, ſo

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the powerful overſhadowings of the Holy Ghoſt were leſs manifeſt in the Society—That there had been a continued increaſe of theſe ways of life even until now; and that the weakneſs which hath now overſpread the ſociety, and the barrenneſs manifeſt amongſt us, is matter of much ſorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending theſe meetings in future, expecting his diſſolution was now near; and having tenderly expreſſed his concern for us, ſignified that he had ſeen in the true light that the Lord would bring back his people from theſe things into which they were thus degenerated, but that his faithful ſervants muſt firſt go thro' great and heavy exerciſes therein.

On the twenty-ninth day, the committee appointed by the yearly-meeting to viſit the quarterly and monthly meetings, now gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that ſervice; in which they ſignified, that in the courſe of it, they had been apprehenſive that ſome perſons holding offices in government, inconſiſtent with our principles; and others who kept ſlaves, remaining active members in our meetings of diſcipline, had been one means of weakneſs more and more prevailing in the management thereof in ſome places. After this report was read, an exerciſe revived on my mind, which, at times, had attended me ſeveral years, and inward cries to the Lord were raiſed in me, that the fear of man

might

might not prevent me from doing what he required of me; and ſtanding up, I ſpake in ſubſtance as follows: "I have felt a tenderneſs in my mind toward perſons, in two circumſtances mentioned in that report; that is, toward ſuch active members who keep ſlaves, and ſuch who hold offices in civil government; and have deſired, that friends in all their conduct may be kindly affectioned one toward another. Many friends, who keep ſlaves, are under ſome exerciſe on that account; and, at times, think about trying them with freedom; but find many things in their way: and the way of living, and annual expences of ſome of them are ſuch, that it ſeems impracticable for them to ſet their ſlaves free, without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have obſerved in ſome places, at quarterly and yearly meetings, and at ſome houſes where travelling friends and their horſes are often entertained, that the yearly expence of individuals therein is very conſiderable: and friends in ſome places crouding much on perſons in theſe circumſtances for entertainment, hath often reſted as a burthen on my mind for ſome years paſt; and I now expreſs it in the fear of the Lord, greatly deſiring that friends now preſent may duly conſider it."

In the fall of this year, having hired a man to work, I perceived in converſation that he had been a ſoldier in the late war on this

this continent; and in the evening, giving a narrative of his captivity amongſt the Indians, he informed me that he ſaw two of his fellow captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner.

This relation affected me with ſadneſs, under which I went to bed; and the next morning, ſoon after I awoke, a freſh and living ſenſe of divine love was ſpread over my mind; in which I had a renewed proſpect of the nature of that wiſdom from above, which leads to a right uſe of all gifts, both ſpiritual and temporal, and gives content therein: under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows:

"Hath He, who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute-creatures, given me a capacity ſuperior to theirs? and ſhewn me, that a moderate application to buſineſs is proper to my preſent condition; and that this, attended with his bleſſing, may ſupply all outward wants, while they remain within the bounds he hath fixed; and no imaginary wants proceeding from an evil ſpirit, have any place in me? Attend then, O my ſoul! to this pure wiſdom, as thy ſure conductor thro' the manifold dangers in this world!"

"Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do theſe wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring that of others, which themſelves would rather be excuſed from, were the ſame required of them?"

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"Do thoſe proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful; and in the end inflict terrible pains on their fellow-creatures, and ſpread deſolations in the world?"

"Doth mankind, walking in uprightneſs, delight in each other's happineſs? And do theſe creatures, capable of this attainment by giving way to an evil ſpirit, employ their wit and ſtrength to afflict and deſtroy one another?"

"Remember then, O my ſoul! the quietude of thoſe in whom Chriſt governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it!"

"Doth he condeſcend to bleſs thee with his preſence? To move and influence to action? To dwell in thee, and walk in thee? Remember then thy ſtation, as a being ſacred to God; accept of the ſtrength freely offered thee; and take heed that no weakneſs, in conforming to expenſive, unwiſe, and hard-hearted cuſtoms, gendering to diſcord and ſtrife, be given way to. Doth he claim my body as his temple? And graciouſly grant that I may be ſacred to him. Oh! that I may prize this favour; and that my whole life may be conformable to this character!"

"Remember, O my ſoul! that the prince of peace is thy Lord: that he communicates his unmixed wiſdom to his family; that they living in perfect ſimplicity, may give

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no juſt cauſe of offence to any creature, but may walk as he walked!"

Having felt an openneſs in my heart toward viſiting families in our own meeting, and eſpecially in the town of Mount-Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it in our monthly-meeting the fore-part of the winter 1764; which being agreed to, and ſeveral friends of our meeting being united in the exerciſe, we proceeded therein; and through divine favour were helped in the work, ſo that it appeared to me as a freſh reviving of godly care amongſt friends: and the latter part of the ſame winter, I joined my friend William Jones, in a viſit to friends families in Mansfield; in which labour, I had cauſe to admire the goodneſs of the Lord toward us.

Having felt my mind drawn toward a viſit to friends along the ſea-coaſt from Cape May to near Squan; and alſo to viſit ſome people in thoſe parts, amongſt whom there is no ſettled worſhip; I joined, with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, in a viſit there, having friends unity therein: and ſetting off the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month, 1765, we had a proſperous and very ſatisfactory journey; feeling, at times, thro' the goodneſs of the heavenly Shepherd, the goſpel to flow freely toward a poor people ſcattered in thoſe places: and ſoon after our return, I joined my friends John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith, in viſiting friends families

at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our ſociety in that city; and we had cauſe humbly to adore our heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the ſtate of the people, and ſtrengthened us to labour in true goſpel love amongſt them.

An exerciſe having, at times, for ſeveral years, attended me, in regard to paying a religious viſit to friends on the Eaſtern Shore of Maryland: ſuch was the nature of this exerciſe, that I believed the Lord moved me to travel on foot amongſt them, that by ſo travelling I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppreſſed ſlaves, ſet an example of lowlineſs before the eyes of their maſters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converſe.

The time now drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our monthly meeting, I perceived in converſation with my beloved friend John Sleeper, that he was under a concern to travel the ſame way, and alſo to travel on foot in the form of a ſervant amongſt them, as he expreſt it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exerciſe.

We being thus drawn the ſame way, laid our exerciſe and the nature of it before friends; and obtaining certificates, we ſet off the ſixth day of the fifth month, 1766; and were at meetings with friends at Wilmington, Duck-Creek, Little-Creek and Motherkill;

therkill; my heart being ſundry times tendered under the divine influence, and enlarged in love toward the people amongſt whom we travelled.

From Motherkill, we croſſed the country about thirty-five miles to friends at Tuckahoe in Maryland, and had a meeting there and at Marſhy-Creek.

At theſe, our three laſt meetings, were a conſiderable number of people, followers of one Joſeph Nichols, a preacher; who, I underſtand, is not in outward fellowſhip with any religious ſociety of people, but profeſſeth nearly the ſame principles as our ſociety doth, and often travels up and down appointing meetings, to which many people come. I heard ſome friends ſpeaking of ſome of their neighbours, who had been irreligious people, that were now his followers, and were become ſober well-behaved men and women.

Some irregularities, I hear, have been amongſt the people at ſeveral of his meetings; but from the whole of what I have perceived, I believe the man and ſome of his followers, are honeſtly diſpoſed, but that ſkilful fathers are wanting among them: from hence we went to Choptank and Third Haven; and thence to Queen Ann's. The weather having ſome days paſt been hot and dry, and we to attend meetings purſuant to appointment, having travelled pretty ſteadily, and had hard labour in meetings, I grew

weakly; at which I was for a time diſcouraged; but looking over our journey, and thinking how the Lord had ſupported our minds and bodies, ſo that we got forward much faſter than I expected before we came out, I now ſaw that I had been in danger of too ſtrongly deſiring to get ſoon through the journey, and that this bodily weakneſs now attending me was a kindneſs to me; and then, in contrition of ſpirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father, for this manifeſtation of his love; and in humble ſubmiſſion to his will, my truſt was renewed in him.

On this part of our journey, I had many thoughts on the different circumſtances of friends who inhabit Pennſylvania and Jerſey, from thoſe who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey were ſettled by many friends, who were convinced of our principles in England in times of ſufferings, and coming over bought lands of the natives, and applied themſelves to huſbandry in a peaceable way; and many of their children were taught to labour for their living.

Few friends, I believe, came from England to ſettle in any of theſe ſouthern provinces; but by the faithful labours of travelling friends in early times, there was conſiderable convincements amongſt the inhabitants of theſe parts. Here I remembered my reading of the warlike diſpoſition of many

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of the firſt ſettlers in thoſe provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives, in which much blood was ſhed, even in the infancy of thoſe colonies. Theſe people, inhabiting thoſe places, being grounded in cuſtoms contrary to the pure truth, when ſome of them were affected with the powerful preaching of the Word of Life, and joined in fellowſhip with our ſociety, they had a great work to go through. It is obſervable in the Hiſtory of the Reformation from Popery, that it had a gradual progreſs from age to age: the uprightneſs of the firſt reformers, in attending to the light and underſtanding given them, opened the way for ſincere-hearted people to proceed further afterward; and thus each one truly fearing God, and labouring in thoſe works of righteouſneſs appointed for them in their day, findeth acceptance with him: though, thro' the darkneſs of the times, and the corruption of manners and cuſtoms, ſome upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds, as it related to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that, which the ſame principle would lead ſucceeding ages into. Thus for inſtance; amongſt an imperious warlike people, ſupported by oppreſſed ſlaves, ſome of theſe maſters, I ſuppoſe, are awakened to feel and ſee their error; and, thro' ſincere repentance, ceaſe from oppreſ-

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ſion, and become like fathers to their ſervants; ſhewing, by their example, a pattern of humility in living, and moderation in governing, for the inſtruction and admonition of their oppreſſing neighbours; thoſe without carrying the reformation further, I believe have found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and thoſe who ſucceeded them, and have faithfully attended to the nature and ſpirit of the reformation, have ſeen the neceſſity of proceeding forward; and not only to inſtruct others, by their example, in governing well, but alſo to uſe means to prevent their ſucceſſors from having ſo much power to oppreſs others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord (whoſe tender mercies are over all his works, and whoſe ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppreſſed) is graciouſly moving on the hearts of people, to draw them off from the deſire of wealth, and bring them into ſuch an humble, lowly way of living, that they may ſee their way clearly, to repair to the ſtandard of true righteouſneſs; and not only break the yoke of oppreſſion, but know him to be their ſtrength and ſupport in a time of outward affliction.

We paſſing on croſſed Cheſter-River; and had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Saſſafras. Thro' my bodily weakneſs, joined with a heavy exerciſe of mind, it was to me an humbling

humbling diſpenſation, and I had a very lively feeling of the ſtate of the oppreſſed; yet I often thought, that what I ſuffered was little, compared with the ſufferings of the bleſſed Jeſus, and many of his faithful followers; and may ſay with thankfulneſs, I was made content.

From Saſſafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well; and for ſeveral weeks after our return, I had often to look over our journey: and tho' to me it appeared as a ſmall ſervice, and that ſome faithful meſſengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in thoſe ſouthern provinces for Chriſt's ſake than we had; yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in ſincerity, according to the underſtanding and ſtrength given me.

On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month, 1766, with the unity of friends at our monthly-meeting, in company with my beloved friend Benjamin Jones, I ſat out on a viſit to friends in the upper part of this province, having had drawings of love in my heart that way a conſiderable time: we travelled as far as Hardwick; and I had inward peace in my labours of love amongſt them.

Thro' the humbling diſpenſations of Divine Providence, my mind hath been brought into a further feeling of the difficulties of friends and their ſervants ſouth-weſtward: and being often engaged in ſpirit on their

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account, I believed it my duty to walk into ſome parts of the weſtern ſhore of Maryland, on a religious viſit: and having obtained a certificate from friends of our monthly-meeting, I took my leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of truth; and on the twentieth day of the fourth month, 1767, I rode to the ferry oppoſite to Philadelphia, and from thence walked to William Horne's at Derby that evening; and next day purſued my journey alone, and reached Concord week-day meeting.

Diſcouragements and a weight of diſtreſs had, at times, attended me in this loneſome walk; thro' which afflictions, I was mercifully preſerved: and now ſitting down with friends, my mind was turned toward the Lord, to wait for his holy leadings; who, in infinite love, was pleaſed to ſoften my heart into humble contrition, and did renewedly ſtrengthen me to go forward; that to me it was a time of heavenly refreſhment in a ſilent meeting.

The next day I came to New-Garden week-day meeting, in which I ſat with bowedneſs of ſpirit; and being baptized into a feeling of the ſtate of ſome preſent, the Lord gave us a heart-tendering ſeaſon; to his name be the praiſe.

I paſſed on, and was at Nottingham monthly-meeting; and at a meeting at Little Britain on firſt-day: and in the afternoon ſeveral friends came to the houſe where I

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lodged, and we had a little afternoon-meeting; and thro' the humbling power of truth, I had to admire the loving-kindneſs of the Lord manifeſted to us.

On the twenty-ſixth day, I croſſed Suſquehannah; and coming amongſt people in outward eaſe and greatneſs, chiefly on the labour of ſlaves, my heart was much affected; and in awful retiredneſs, my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true reſignation I might receive inſtruction from him, reſpecting my duty amongſt this people.

Tho' travelling on foot was weariſome to my body; yet thus travelling, was agreeable to the ſtate of my mind.

I went gently on, being weakly; and was covered with ſorrow and heavineſs, on account of the ſpreading prevailing ſpirit of this world, introducing cuſtoms grievous and oppreſſive on one hand, and cheriſhing pride and wantonneſs on the other. In this lonely walk, and ſtate of abaſement and humiliation, the ſtate of the church in theſe parts was opened before me; and I may truly ſay with the prophet, "I was bowed down at "the hearing of it; I was diſmayed at the "ſeeing of it." Under this exerciſe, I attended the quarterly-meeting at Gunpowder; and, in bowedneſs of ſpirit, I had to open, with much plainneſs, what I felt reſpecting friends living in fullneſs, on the labours of the poor oppreſſed negroes; and

that

that promiſe of the Moſt High was now revived: "I will gather all nations and "tongues; and they ſhall come and ſee my "glory."—Here the ſufferings of Chriſt, and his taſting death for every man, and the travels, ſufferings, and martyrdoms of the apoſtles, and primitive chriſtians, in labouring for the converſion of the gentiles, was livingly revived in me; and according to the meaſure of ſtrength afforded, I laboured in ſome tenderneſs of ſpirit, being deeply affected amongſt them: and thus the difference between the preſent treatment which theſe gentiles the negroes receive at our hands, and the labours of the primitive chriſtians for the converſion of the gentiles, was preſſed home, and the power of truth came over us; under a feeling of which, my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in thoſe parts; and the meeting concluded in a ſenſe of God's goodneſs toward his humble dependant children.

The next day was a general meeting for worſhip, much crouded; in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might ſtand wholly reſigned, and move only as he might be pleaſed to lead me: and I was mercifully helped to labour honeſtly and fervently amongſt them, in which I found inward peace; and the ſincere were comforted.

From hence I turned toward Pipe-Creek, and paſſed on to the Red-Lands; and had

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ſeveral meetings amongſt friends in thoſe parts. My heart was often tenderly affected, under a ſenſe of the Lord's goodneſs, in ſanctifying my troubles and exerciſes, turning them to my comfort, and, I believe, to the benefit of many others; for, I may ſay with thankfulneſs, that in this viſit, it appeared like a freſh tendering viſitation in moſt places.

I paſſed on to the weſtern quarterly-meeting in Pennſylvania; during the ſeveral days of this meeting, I was mercifully preſerved in an inward feeling after the mind of truth, and my publick labours tended to my humiliation, with which I was content: and after the quarterly-meeting of worſhip ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting of buſineſs; which was very full: and here the humility of Jeſus Chriſt, as a pattern for us to walk by, was livingly opened before me; and in treating on it, my heart was enlarged; and it was a baptizing time. From hence I went on; and was at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence, and Haddonfield, and ſo home; where I found my family well. A ſenſe of the Lord's merciful preſervation in this my journey, excites reverent thankfulneſs to him.

On the ſecond day of the ninth month, 1767, with the unity of friends, I ſet off on a viſit to friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks; and

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have renewed cauſe to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodneſs, opened my way amongſt friends, and made the meetings (I truſt) profitable to us. And the winter following, I joined friends on a viſit to friends families, in ſome part of our meeting; in which exerciſe, the pure influence of divine love, made our viſits reviving.

On the fifth day of the fifth month, 1768, I left home, under the humbling hand of the Lord, having obtained a certificate, in order to viſit ſome meetings in Maryland; and to proceed without a horſe looked clearеſt to me. I was at the quarterly-meetings at Philadelphia and Concord; and then went on to Cheſter river; and croſſing the Bay with friends, was at the yearly-meeting at Weſt-River: thence back to Cheſter-River; and taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting; and as my eye was to the Lord, way was, ſeveral times, opened to my humbling admiration, when things had appeared very difficult.

In my return, I felt a relief of mind, very comfortable to me; having, thro' divine help, laboured in much plainneſs, both with friends ſelected, and in the more publick meetings: ſo that (I truſt) the pure witneſs, in many minds, was reached.

The eleventh day of the ſixth month, 1769. Sundry caſes have happened of late years,

years, within the limits of our monthly-meeting, reſpecting that of exerciſing pure righteouſneſs toward the negroes; in which I have lived under a labour of heart, that equity might be ſteadily kept to. On this account, I have had ſome cloſe exerciſes amongſt friends; in which, I may thankfully ſay, I find peace: and as my meditations have been on univerſal love, my own conduct in time paſt, became of late very grievous to me.

As perſons ſetting negroes free in our province, are bound by law to maintain them, in caſe they have need of relief; ſome who ſcrupled keeping ſlaves for term of life, in the time of my youth, were wont to detain their young negroes in their ſervice till thirty years of age, without wages, on that account: and with this cuſtom I ſo far agreed, that I, being joined to another friend, in executing the will of a deceaſed friend, once ſold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the uſe of the eſtate.

With abaſement of heart, I may now ſay, that ſometimes, as I have ſet in a meeting, with my heart exerciſed toward that awful Being, who reſpecteth not perſons nor colours, and have looked upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind reſpecting him: and as I have attended to this exerciſe, and fervently ſought the Lord, it hath appeared to me, that I ſhould make

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ſome reſtitution, but in what way I ſaw not till lately; when being under ſome concern, that I may be reſigned to go on a viſit to ſome part of the Weſt-Indies; and was under cloſe engagement of ſpirit, ſeeking to the Lord for counſel herein: that of my joining in the ſale aforeſaid, came heavily upon me; and my mind, for a time, was covered with darkneſs and ſorrow; and under this ſore affliction, my heart was ſoftened to receive inſtruction: and here I firſt ſaw, that as I had been one of the two executors, who had ſold this lad nine years longer than is common for our own children to ſerve, ſo I ſhould now offer a part of my ſubſtance to redeem the laſt half of that nine years; but as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding me, and my executors, to pay to the man he was ſold to, what to candid men might appear equitable, for the laſt four years and a half of his time, in caſe the ſaid youth ſhould be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himſelf.

The ninth day of the tenth month, 1769. My heart hath often been deeply afflicted under a feeling I have had, that the ſtandard of pure righteouſneſs, is not lifted up to the people by us, as a ſociety, in that clearneſs which it might have been, had we been ſo faithful to the teachings of Chriſt, as we ought to have been: and as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of

Chriſt's

Chriſt's government hath been opened in my underſtanding; and under this exerciſe, that of friends being active in civil ſociety, in putting laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of righteouſneſs, hath, for ſeveral years, been an increaſing burthen upon me; having felt, in the openings of univerſal love, that where a people convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Chriſt, are active in putting laws in execution, which are not conſiſtent with pure wiſdom, it hath a neceſſary tendency to bring dimneſs over their minds: and as my heart hath been thus exerciſed, and a tender ſympathy in me toward my fellow members, I have, within a few months paſt, in ſeveral meetings for diſcipline, expreſſed my concern on this ſubject.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Under ſome bodily indiſpoſition, his body, by abſtinence, much weakened; and his mind, at that time, exerciſed for the good of the people in the Weſt-Indies — His afterwards communicating to friends his being reſigned to viſit ſome of theſe iſlands — The ſtate of his mind, and the cloſe conſiderations he was led into, while under this exerciſe — His preparations to embark, and his conſiderations on the trade to theſe iſlands; and his being, when the veſſel was ready to ſail, releaſed from the concern he had been under — His religious engagements after his return home — His ſickneſs, in which he was brought to a very low ſtate; and the proſpects he then had.

THE twelfth day of the third month, having, for ſome years paſt, dieted myſelf on account of a lump gathering on my noſe; under this diet, I grew weak in body, and not of ability to travel by land as heretofore: I was, at times, favoured to look with awfulneſs toward the Lord, before whom are all my ways, who alone hath the power of life and death; and to feel thankfulneſs raiſed in me, for this his fatherly chaſtiſement, believing, if I was truly humbled under

der it, all would work for good. While I was under this bodily weakneſs, my mind being, at times, exerciſed for my fellow-creatures in the Weſt-Indies, I grew jealous over myſelf, leſt the diſagreeableneſs of the proſpect ſhould hinder me from obediently attending thereto: for tho' I knew not that the Lord required me to go there; yet I believed, that reſignation was now called for in that reſpect: and feeling a danger of not being wholly devoted to him, I was frequently engaged to watch unto prayer, that I might be preſerved; and upwards of a year having paſſed, I walked one day in a ſolitary wood, my mind being covered with awfulneſs, cries were raiſed in me to my merciful Father, that he would graciouſly keep me in faithfulneſs; and it then ſettled on my mind as a duty, to open my condition to friends at our monthly-meeting; which I did ſoon after, as follows:

"An exerciſe hath attended me for ſome time paſt, and of late been more weighty upon me; under which, I believe it is required of me to be reſigned to go on a viſit to ſome part of the Weſt-Indies:" and in the quarterly and general ſpring meeting, I found no clearneſs to expreſs any thing further, than that I believed reſignation herein was required of me; and having obtained certificates from all ſaid meetings, I felt like a ſojourner at my outward habitation, kept free from worldly encumbrances, and was

often bowed in ſpirit before the Lord, with inward breathings to him, that I might be rightly directed. And I may here note, that what I have before related of my being, when young, joined as an executor with another friend, in executing the will of the deceaſed, our having ſold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, was now the occaſion of great ſorrow to me: and after having ſettled matters relating to this youth, I provided a ſea-ſtore and bed, and things for the voyage; and hearing of a veſſel likely to ſail from Philadelphia for Barbadoes, I ſpake with one of the owners at Burlington, and ſoon after went to Philadelphia on purpoſe to ſpeak with him again: at which time he told me, there was a friend in town who was part owner of the ſaid veſſel; but I felt no inclination to ſpeak with him, but returned home: and a while after, I took leave of my family; and going to Philadelphia, had ſome weighty converſation with the firſt-mentioned owner, and ſhewed him a writing, as follows:

"On the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month, 1769, as an exerciſe, with reſpect to a viſit to Barbadoes, hath been weighty on my mind, I may expreſs ſome of the tryals which have attended me; under theſe tryals I have, at times, rejoiced, in that I have felt my own ſelf-will ſubjected."

"I once, ſome years ago, retailed rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, the fruits of the labour of

of ſlaves; but then, had not much concern about them, ſave only that the rum might be uſed in moderation; nor was this concern ſo weightily attended to, as I now believe it ought to have been: but of late years being further informed, reſpecting the oppreſſions too generally exerciſed in theſe iſlands, and thinking often on the degrees that are in connections of intereſt and fellowſhip with the works of darkneſs, Ephe. v. 11. And feeling an increaſing concern to be wholly given up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, it hath appeared, that the ſmall gain I got by this branch of trade, ſhould be applied in promoting righteouſneſs on the earth; and were the firſt motion toward a viſit to Barbadoes: I believed the outward ſubſtance I poſſeſs ſhould be applied in paying my paſſage, if I go, and providing things in a lowly way for my ſubſiſtance; but when the time drew near, in which, I believed, it required of me to be in readineſs, a difficulty aroſe, which hath been a continued tryal for ſome months paſt; under which, I have, with abaſement of mind, from day to day, ſought the Lord for inſtruction; and often had a feeling of the condition of one formerly, who bewailed himſelf, for that the Lord hid his face from him.—During theſe exerciſes, my heart hath been often contrite; and I have had a tender feeling of the temptations of my fellow-creatures, labouring under thoſe expenſive cuſtoms diſtinguiſhable

from the ſimplicity that there is in Chriſt, 2 Cor. ii. 3. and ſometimes in the renewings of goſpel love, have been helped to miniſter to others."

"That which hath ſo cloſely engaged my mind, in ſeeking to the Lord for inſtruction is, whether, after ſo full information of the oppreſſion the ſlaves in the Weſt-Indies lie under, who raiſe the Weſt-India produce, as I had in reading a caution and warning to Great-Britain and her colonies, wrote by Anthony Benezet) it is right for me to take a paſſage in a veſſel, employed in the Weſt-India trade?"

"To trade freely with oppreſſors, and without labouring to diſſuade from ſuch unkind treatment, ſeek for gain by ſuch traffick, tends, I believe, to make them more eaſy, reſpecting their conduct, than they would be, if the cauſe of univerſal righteouſneſs was humbly and firmly attended to, by thoſe in general with whom they have commerce; and that complaint of the Lord by his prophet, "They have ſtrengthened the hands "of the wicked," hath very often revived in my mind; and I may here add ſome circumſtances preceding any proſpect of a viſit there: the caſe of David hath often been before me of late years: he longed for ſome water in a well beyond an army of Philiſtines, at war with Iſrael; and ſome of his men, to pleaſe him, ventured their lives in paſſing thro' this army, and brought that "It water."

"It doth not appear that the Iſraelites were then ſcarce of water, but rather, that David gave way to delicacy of taſte; but having thought on the danger theſe men were expoſed to, he conſidered this water as their blood, and his heart ſmote him that he could not drink it, but poured it out to the Lord. And the oppreſſion of the ſlaves, which I have ſeen in ſeveral journies ſouthward, on this continent, and the report of their treatment in the Weſt-Indies hath deeply affected me; and a care to live in the ſpirit of peace, and miniſter juſt cauſe of offence to none of my fellow-creatures, hath, from time to time, livingly revived on my mind; and under this exerciſe, I, for ſome years paſt, declined to gratify my palate with thoſe ſugars."

"I do not cenſure my brethren in theſe things; but believe the Father of mercies, to whom all mankind by creation are equally related, hath heard the groans of theſe oppreſſed people; and is preparing ſoon to have a tender feeling of their condition: and the trading in, or frequent uſe of, any produce known to be raiſed by the labours of thoſe who are under ſuch lamentable oppreſſion, hath appeared to be a ſubject which may yet more require the ſerious conſideration of the humble followers of Chriſt, the prince of peace."

"After long and mournful exerciſe, I am now free to mention how things have opened

ed in my mind, with defires that if it may pleafe the Lord, to further open his will to any of his children in this matter, they may faithfully follow him in fuch further manifeftation."

"The number of thofe who decline the ufe of the Weft-India produce, on account of the hard ufage of the flaves who raife it, appears fmall, even amongft people truly pious; and the labours in chriftian love, on that fubject, of thofe who do, not very extenfive."

"Were the trade from this continent to the Weft-Indies to be quite ftopped at once, I believe many there would fuffer for want of bread."

"Did we on this continent, and the inhabitants of the Weft-Indies, generally dwell in pure righteoufnefs, I believe a fmall trade between us might be right: that under thefe conficerations, when the thoughts of wholly declining the ufe of trading veffels, and of trying to hire a veffel to go under ballaft have arofe in my mind, I have believed that the labours in gofpel love, yet beftowed in the caufe of univerfal righteoufnefs, are not arrived to that height."

"If the trade to the Weft-Indies were no more than was conffiftent with pure wifdom, I believe the paffage-money would, for good reafons, be higher than it is now; and here, under deep exercife of mind, I have believed, that I fhould not take the advantage of this great trade, and fmall paffage-money; but

as

as a teſtimony in favour of leſs trading, ſhould pay more than is common for others to pay, if I go at this time."

The firſt-mentioned owner having read the paper, expreſſed a willingneſs to go with me to the other owner; and we going, the ſaid other owner read over the paper, and we had ſome ſolid converſation; under which, I felt my ſoul bowed in reverence before the Moſt-High: and, at length, one of them aſked me, if I would go and ſee the veſſel? but I had not clearneſs in my mind to go; but went to my lodgings, and retired in private.

I was now under great exerciſe of mind; and my tears were poured out before the Lord, with inward cries, that he would graciouſly help me under theſe trials.

In this caſe, I believe my mind was reſigned, but did not feel clearneſs to proceed; and my own weakneſs, and the neceſſity of divine inſtruction, was impreſſed upon me.

I was, for a time, as one who knew not what to do, and was toſſed as in a tempeſt; under which affliction, the doctrine of Chriſt "Take no thought for the morrow," aroſe livingly before me. I remembered it was ſome days before they expected the veſſel to ſail, and was favoured to get into a good degree of ſtillneſs; and having been near two days in town, I believe my obedience to my heavenly Father conſiſted in returning

home-

homeward; and then I went over amongſt friends on the Jerſey ſhore, and tarried till the morning on which they had appointed to ſail: and as I lay in bed the latter part of that night, my mind was comforted; and I felt what I eſteemed a freſh confirmation, that it was the Lord's will, that I ſhould paſs through ſome further exerciſes near home.

So I went home, and ſtill felt like a ſojourner with my family: and in the freſh ſpring of pure love, had ſome labours in a private way amongſt friends, on a ſubject relating to truth's teſtimony; under which, I had frequently been exerciſed in heart for ſome years. I remember, as I walked on the road under this exerciſe, that paſſage in Ezekiel came freſh before me: "Whitherſoever "their faces were turned, thither they went." and I was graciouſly helped to diſcharge my duty, in the fear and dread of the Almighty.

After a few weeks, it pleaſed the Lord to viſit me with a pleuriſy; and after I had lain a few days, and felt the diſorder very grievous, I was thoughtful how it might end.

I had of late, through various exerciſes, been much weaned from the pleaſant things of this life; and I now thought, if it was the Lord's will to put an end to my labours, and graciouſly receive me into the arms of his mercy, death would be acceptable to me; but

but if it was his will to farther refine me under affliction, and make me, in any degree, uſeful in his church, I deſired not to die. I may, with thankfulneſs, ſay, that in this caſe I felt reſignedneſs wrought in me, and had no inclination to ſend for a doctor; believing, if it was the Lord's will, thro' outward means, to raiſe me up, ſome ſympathizing friends would be ſent to miniſter to me; which were accordingly: but though I was carefully attended, yet the diſorder was, at times, ſo heavy, that I had no thoughts of recovery: one night in particular, my bodily diſtreſs was great; my feet grew cold, and cold increaſed up my legs toward my body; and, at that time, I had no inclination to aſk my nurſe to apply anything warm to my feet, expecting my end was near: and after I had lain near ten hours in this condition, I cloſed my eyes, thinking whether I might now be delivered out of the body; but in theſe awful moments, my mind was livingly opened to behold the church; and ſtrong engagements were begotten in me, for the everlaſting well-being of my fellow-creatures: and I felt, in the ſpring of pure love, that I might remain ſome time longer in the body, in filling up, according to my meaſure, that which remains of the afflictions of Chriſt, and in labouring for the good of the church; after which, I requeſted my nurſe to apply warmth to my feet; and I revived: and the next night

night, feeling a weighty exercise of spirit, and having a solid friend sitting up with me, I requested him to write what I said; which he did, as follows:

"Fourth day of the first month, 1770, about five in the morning.—I have seen in the Light of the Lord, that the day is approaching, when the man that is the most wise in human policy, shall be the greatest fool; and the arm that is mighty to support injustice, shall be broken to pieces: the enemies of righteousness shall make a terrible rattle, and shall mightily torment one another; for He that is omnipotent is rising up to judgment, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and he commanded me to open the vision."

Near a week after this, feeling my mind livingly opened, I sent for a neighbour, who, at my request, wrote as follows:

"The place of prayer is a precious habitation; for I now saw that the prayers of the saints was precious incense: and a trumpet was given me, that I might sound forth this language; that the children might hear it, and be invited together to this precious habitation, where the prayers of the saints, as precious incense, ariseth up before the throne of God and the Lamb—I saw this habitation to be safe; to be inwardly quiet, when there were great stirrings and commotions in the world."

"Prayer,

"Prayer, at this day, in pure reſignation, is a precious place: the trumpet is ſounded, the call goes forth to the church, that ſhe gather to the place of pure inward prayer; and her habitation is ſafe."

CHAP. XI.

His preparing to viſit friends in England—His embarking at Cheſter, in company with Samuel Emlen, in a ſhip bound to London—His deep exerciſe, in obſerving the difficulties and hardſhips the common ſailors are expoſed to—Conſiderations on the dangers to which youth are expoſed, in being trained to a ſea-faring life; and its inconſiſtency with a pious education—His thoughts in a ſtorm at ſea: with many inſtructive contemplations on the voyage—And his arrival at London.

HAVING been ſome time under a religious concern to prepare for croſſing the ſeas, in order to viſit friends in the northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkſhire: after weighty conſideration, I thought it expedient to inform friends, at our monthly-

monthly-meeting at Burlington, of it; who, having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate; and I afterwards communicated the ſame to our quarterly-meeting, and they likewiſe certified their concurrence therewith. Some time after which, at the general ſpring-meeting of miniſters and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them of the religious exerciſe which attended my mind; with which, they likewiſe ſignified their unity by a certificate, dated the twenty-fourth day of the ~~eighth~~ third month, 1772, directed to friends in Great-Britain.

In the fourth month following, I thought the time was come for me to make ſome enquiry for a ſuitable conveyance; being apprehenſive, that as my concern was principally toward the northern parts of England, it would be moſt proper to go in a veſſel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven: and while I was at Philadelphia, deliberating on this occaſion, I was informed, that my beloved friend Samuel Emlen, jun. intending to go to London; and having taken a paſſage for himſelf in the cabbin of the ſhip, called Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was maſter, and John Head, of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and I feeling a draft in my mind toward the ſteerage of the ſame ſhip, went firſt and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend wept when I ſpake to him, and appeared glad that I had thoughts of

of going in the veſſel with him, though my proſpect was toward the ſteerage; and he offering to go with me, we went on board, firſt into the cabbin, a commodious room, and then into the ſteerage; where we ſat down on a cheſt, the ſailors being buſy about us: then the owner of the ſhip came, and ſat down with us.

Here my mind was turned toward Chriſt, the heavenly counſellor; and I feeling, at this time, my own will ſubjected, my heart was contrite before him.

A motion was made by the owner, to go and ſet in the cabbin, as a place more retired; but I felt eaſy to leave the ſhip, and made no agreement as to a paſſage in her; but told the owner, if I took a paſſage in the ſhip, I believed it would be in the ſteerage; but did not ſay much as to my exerciſe in that caſe.

After I went to my lodgings, and the caſe was a little known in town, a friend laid before me the great inconvenience attending a paſſage in the ſteerage; which, for a time, appeared very diſcouraging to me.

I ſoon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exerciſe before the Lord; whoſe helping hand was manifeſted to me as I ſlept that night, and his love ſtrengthened my heart: and in the morning, I went with two friends on board the veſſel again; and after a ſhort time ſpent therein, I went with Samuel Emlen to the houſe of the owner;

owner; to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exerciſe, in ſubſtance as follows, in relation to a ſcruple I felt with regard to a paſſage in the cabbin:

I told the owner, that on the outſide of that part of the ſhip where the cabbin was, I obſerved ſundry ſorts of carved work and imagery; and that in the cabbin I obſerved ſome ſuperfluity of workmanſhip of ſeveral ſorts; and that according to the ways of men's reckoning, the ſum of money to be paid for a paſſage in that apartment, hath ſome relation to the expence in furniſhing it to pleaſe the minds of ſuch who give way to a conformity to this world; and that in this caſe, as in other caſes, the monies received from the paſſengers, are calculated to anſwer every expence relating to their paſſage, and amongſt the reſt of theſe ſuperfluities: and that in this caſe, I felt a ſcruple with regard to paying my money to defray ſuch expences.

As my mind was now opened, I told the owner, that I had, at ſeveral times in my travels, ſeen great oppreſſions on this continent; at which my heart had been much affected, and brought into a feeling of the ſtate of the ſufferers. And having many times been engaged, in the fear and love of God, to labour with thoſe under whom the oppreſſed have been borne down and afflicted; I have often perceived, that a view to get riches, and provide eſtates for children,

to

to live conformable to cuſtoms, which ſtand in that ſpirit wherein men have regard to the honours of this world—that in the purſuit of theſe things, I had ſeen many entangled in the ſpirit of oppreſſion; and the exerciſe of my ſoul had been ſuch, that I could not find peace, in joining in any thing which I ſaw was againſt that wiſdom which is pure.

After this, I agreed for a paſſage in the ſteerage; and hearing in town that Joſeph White had a deſire to ſee me, I felt the reviving of a deſire to ſee him, and went then to his houſe, and next day home; where I tarried two nights: and then early in the morning, I parted with my family, under a ſenſe of the humbling hand of God upon me; and going to Philadelphia, had opportunity with ſeveral of my beloved friends; who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleaſant ſituation of that part of the veſſel, where I was likely to lodge.

In theſe opportunities, my mind, through the mercies of the Lord, was kept low, in an inward waiting for his help; and friends having expreſſed their deſire, that I might have a place more convenient than the ſteerage, did not urge, but appeared diſpoſed to leave me to the Lord.

Having ſtayed two nights in Philadelphia, I went the next day to Derby monthly-meeting; where, through the ſtrength of divine

love,

love, my heart was enlarged toward the youth then preſent; under which I was helped to labour in ſome tenderneſs of ſpirit. Then lodging at William Horne's, I, with one friend, went to Cheſter; where meeting with Samuel Emlen, we went on board the firſt day of the fifth month, 1772: and as I ſat down alone, on a ſeat on the deck, I felt a ſatisfactory evidence, that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the croſs of Chriſt.

Seventh day of the fifth month: have had rough weather, moſtly ſince I came on board; and the paſſengers, James Reynolds, John Till-Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Biſpham, all ſea-ſick, more or leſs, at times; from which ſickneſs, thro' the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preſerved: my afflictions now being of another kind.

There appeared an openneſs in the minds of the maſter of the ſhip and in the cabbin paſſengers toward me; we were often together on the deck, and ſometimes in the cabbin.

My mind, thro' the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preſerved in a good degree watchful, and inward; and have, this day, great cauſe to be thankful, in that I remain to feel quietneſs of mind.

As my lodgings in the ſteerage, now near a week, hath afforded me ſundry opportunities of ſeeing, hearing, and feeling, with reſpect

respect to the life and spirit of many poor sailors: an inward exercise of soul hath attended me, in regard to placing out children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and instructed in the pure fear of the Lord; and I being much amongst the seamen, have from a motion of love, sundry times taken opportunities, with one of them at a time alone; and in a free conversation, laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord: and this day we had a meeting in the cabbin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of divine love.

Now concerning lads being trained up as seamen: I believe a communication from one part of the world to some other parts of it, by sea, is, at times, consistent with the will of our heavenly Father; and to educate some youth in the practice of sailing, I believe may be right: but how lamentable is the present corruption of the world! how impure are the channels thro' which trade hath a conveyance! how great is that danger, to which poor lads are now exposed, when placed on shipboard to learn the art of sailing?

Five lads, training up for the seas, were now on board this ship; two of them brought up amongst our society; one of which hath a right amongst friends, by name James Nailor, to whose father James Nailor, mentioned in Sewel's history, appears to have been uncle.

I often feel a tenderneſs of heart toward theſe poor lads; and, at times, look at them as though they were my children according to the fleſh.

O that all may take heed and beware of covetouſneſs! O that all may learn of Chriſt, who was meek and low of heart! Then in faithfully following him, he will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without reſpect to the cuſtoms or honours of this world.

Men thus redeemed, will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a deſire that thoſe in the loweſt ſtations may be aſſiſted and encouraged; and where owners of ſhips attain to the perfect law of liberty, and are doers of the word, theſe will be bleſſed in their deeds.

A ſhip at ſea commonly ſails all night, and the ſeamen take their watches four hours at a time.

Riſing to work in the night, is not commonly pleaſant in any caſe; but in dark rainy nights it is very diſagreeable, even though each man were furniſhed with all conveniences: but if men muſt go out at midnight to help manage the ſhip in the rain, and having ſmall room to ſleep and lay their garments in, are often beſet to furniſh themſelves for the watch; their garments or ſome thing relating to their buſineſs being wanting, and not eaſily found; when from the urgency occaſioned by high winds, they are haſtened and called up ſuddenly: here is a

tryal

tryal of patience on the poor ſailors, and the poor lads their companions.

If after they have been on deck ſeveral hours in the night, and come down into the ſteerage ſoaking wet, and are ſo cloſe ſtowed that proper convenience for change of garment is not eaſily come at, but for want of proper room their wet garments thrown in heaps, and ſometimes, through much crowding, are trodden under foot, in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and great difficulties, at times, each one to find his own: here are tryals on the poor ſailors.

Now as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yearned for them; and tender deſires been raiſed in me, that all owners and maſters of veſſels may dwell in the love of God, and therein act uprightly; and by ſeeking leſs for gain, and looking carefully to their ways, may earneſtly labour to remove all cauſe of provocation from the poor ſeamen, either to fret or uſe exceſs of ſtrong drink; for, indeed, the poor creatures, at times, in the wet and cold, ſeem to apply to ſtrong drink to ſupply the want of other convenience.

Great reformation in the world is wanting, and the neceſſity of it, amongſt theſe who do buſineſs on great waters, hath, at this time, been abundantly opened before me.

The eighth day of the fifth month.—This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew

ſtrong from ſouth-eaſtward, and before noon increaſed to that degree that ſailing appeared dangerous: the ſeamen then bound up ſome of their ſails, and took down ſome; and the ſtorm increaſing, they put the dead lights, ſo called, into the cabbin-windows, and lighted a lamp as at night.

The wind now blew vehemently, and the ſea wrought to that degree, that an awful ſeriouſneſs prevailed in the cabbin, in which I ſpent, I believe, about ſeventeen hours; for I believed the poor wet toiling ſeamen, had need of all the room in the crouded ſteerage, and the cabbin paſſengers had given me frequent invitations.

They ceaſed now from ſailing; and put the veſſel in the poſture, called lying-to.

My mind in this tempeſt, thro' the gracious aſſiſtance of the Lord, was preſerved in a good degree of reſignation; and I felt, at times, a few words in his love to my ſhip-mates, in regard to the all-ſufficiency of Him who formed the great deep, and whoſe care is ſo extenſive, that a ſparrow falls not without his notice: and thus in a tender frame of mind, ſpake to them of the neceſſity of our yielding, in true obedience, to the inſtructions of our heavenly Father, who ſometimes, through adverſities, intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at night, I went out on the deck, when the ſea wrought exceedingly, and the high foaming waves, all round about, had

had in ſome ſort the appearance of fire; but did not give much, if any, light.

The ſailor, then at the helm, ſaid, he lately ſaw a corpoſant at the head of the maſt.

About this time I obſerved the maſter of the ſhip ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck; and tho' he ſaid little, I apprehended his care was, that the carpenter with his axe might be in readineſs, in caſe of any extremity.

Soon after this, the vehemency of the wind abated; and before morning, they again put the ſhip under ſail.

The tenth day of the month, and firſt of the week, it being fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabbin, at which moſt of the ſeamen were preſent: this meeting to me was a ſtrengthening time.

The thirteenth day of the month. As I continue to lodge in the ſteerage, I feel an openneſs this morning, to expreſs ſomething further of the ſtate of my mind, in reſpect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of ſailing. As I believe ſailing is of ſome uſe in the world, a labour of ſoul attends me, that the pure counſel of truth may be humbly waited for in this caſe, by all concerned in the buſineſs of the ſeas.

A pious father, whoſe mind is exerciſed for the everlaſting welfare of his child, may not, with a peaceable mind, place him out to an employment amongſt a people, whoſe common

common courſe of life is manifeſtly corrupt and prophane; ſo great is the preſent defect amongſt ſea-faring men, in regard to piety and virtue: and through an abundant traffick, and many ſhips of war, ſo many people are employed on the ſea, that this ſubject of placing lads to the employment appears very weighty.

Prophane examples are very corrupting, and very forcible. And as my mind, day after day, and night after night, hath been affected with a ſympathizing tenderneſs toward poor children, put to the employment of ſailors, I have ſometimes had weighty converſation with the ſailors in the ſteerage, who were moſtly reſpectful to me, and more and more ſo the longer I was with them: they moſtly appeared to take kindly what I ſaid to them; but their minds have appeared to be ſo deeply impreſſed with that almoſt univerſal depravity amongſt ſailors, that the poor creatures in their anſwers to me on this ſubject, have revived in my remembrance, that of the degenerate Jews a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, "There is no hope."

Now under this exerciſe, a ſenſe of the deſire of outward gain prevailing amongſt us, hath felt grievous; and a ſtrong call to the profeſſed followers of Chriſt, hath been raiſed in me; that all may take heed, leſt, through loving this preſent world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty, with

reſpect

reſpect to a faithful labour for a reformation.

Silence, as to every motion proceeding from the love of money, and an humble waiting upon God, to know his will concerning us, hath now appeared neceſſary: he alone is able to ſtrengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the ſafe foundation, and ſo direct us in our outward employments, that pure univerſal love may ſhine forth in our proceedings.

Deſires ariſing from the ſpirit of truth, are pure deſires; and when a mind, divinely opened toward a young generation, is made ſenſible of corrupting examples, powerfully working, and extenſively ſpreading amongſt them, how moving is the proſpect!

A great trade to the coaſt of Africa for ſlaves; of which I now heard frequent converſation among the ſailors!

A great trade in that which is raiſed and prepared thro' grievous oppreſſion!

A great trade in ſuperfluity of workmanſhip, formed to pleaſe the pride and vanity of people's minds!

Great and extenſive is that depravity, which prevails amongſt the poor ſailors!

When I remember that ſaying of the Moſt High, through his prophet, "This people "have I formed for myſelf; they ſhall ſhew "forth my praiſe:" and think of placing children amongſt them, to learn the practice of ſailing, the conſiſtency of it with a pious

educa-

education, ſeems to me like that mentioned by the prophet, " There is no anſwer from " God."

In a world of dangers and difficulties, like a deſolate thorny wilderneſs, how precious! how comfortable! how ſafe! are the leadings of Chriſt, the good ſhepherd; who ſaid, " I know my ſheep; and am known of mine."

The ſixteenth day of the month. Wind for ſeveral days paſt often high, what the ſailors call ſqually, rough ſea and frequent rains. This laſt night a very trying night to the poor ſeamen; the water, chief part of the night, running over the main deck, and ſometimes breaking waves came on the quarter deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power of divine love; and reſignedneſs to the great Creator of the earth and the ſeas, renewedly wrought in me, whoſe fatherly care over his children felt precious to my ſoul: and deſires were now renewed in me, to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardſhips and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour in his love for the ſpreading of pure univerſal righteouſneſs on the earth. The opportunities being frequent of hearing converſation amongſt the ſailors, in reſpect to the voyages to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply oppreſſed ſlaves into our iſlands. The thoughts of their condition, frequently in chains and fetters on board the veſſels,

veſſels, with hearts loaded with grief, under the apprehenſions of miſerable ſlavery; my mind was frequently opened to meditate on theſe things.

On the ſeventeenth day of the month, and firſt of the week, we had a meeting in the cabbin; to which the ſeamen generally came. My ſpirit was contrite before the Lord; whoſe love, at this time, affected my heart.

This afternoon I felt a tender ſympathy of ſoul, with my poor wife and family left behind; in which ſtate, my heart was enlarged in deſires, that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlaſting Father may be their guide and ſupport, thro' all the difficulties in this world; and a ſenſe of that gracious aſſiſtance, thro' which my mind hath been ſtrengthened to take up the croſs and leave them, to travel in the love of truth, hath begotten thankfulneſs in my heart to our great Helper.

On the twenty-fourth day of the month, and firſt of the week, a clear pleaſant morning: and as I ſat on deck, I felt a reviving in my nature; which, through much rainy weather, and high winds, being ſhut up in a cloſe unhealthy air, was weakened.

Several nights of late I felt breathing difficult; that a little after the riſing of the ſecond watch (which is about midnight) I got up, and ſtood, I believe, near an hour, with my face near the hatchway, to get the freſh air at the ſmall vacancy under the

hatch

hatch door; which is commonly ſhut down, partly to keep out rain, and ſometimes to keep the breaking waves from daſhing into the ſteerage.

I may, with thankfulneſs to the Father of mercies, acknowledge, that in my preſent weak ſtate, my mind hath been ſupported to bear the affliction with patience; and have looked at the preſent diſpenſation as a kindneſs from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in ſome degree bringing me to feel that, which many thouſands of my fellow-creatures often ſuffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the tryal hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my ſoul after God, the fountain of comfort, whoſe inward help hath ſupplied, at times, the want of outward convenience: and ſtrong deſires have attended me, that his family, who are acquainted with the movings of his Holy Spirit, may be ſo redeemed from the love of money, and from that ſpirit in which men ſeek honour one of another; that in all buſineſs, by ſea or land, we may conſtantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven; and by faithfully following this ſafe guide, ſhew forth examples, tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans!

This day we had a meeting in the cabbin; in which I was favoured in ſome degree to experience the fulfilling of that ſaying of

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the prophet, "The Lord hath been a ſtrength "to the poor, a ſtrength to the needy in "their diſtreſs;" for which, my heart is bowed in thankfulneſs before him.

The twenty-eighth day of the month: wet weather of late, ſmall winds inclining to calms; our ſeamen have caſt a lead, I ſuppoſe about one hundred fathom, but find no bottom: foggy weather this morning.

Through the kindneſs of the great Preſerver of men, my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exerciſe, from day to day, attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Chriſt may ſpread and prevail amongſt mankind.

The leading on of a young generation, in that pure way, in which the wiſdom of this world hath no place: where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counſellor, may example them in the truth, as it is in Jeſus. This, for ſeveral days, hath been the exerciſe of my mind; O how ſafe, how quiet is that ſtate, where the ſoul ſtands in pure obedience to the voice of Chriſt, and a watchful care is maintained, not to follow the voice of the ſtranger!

Here Chriſt is felt to be our ſhepherd; and under his leading, people are brought to a ſtability: and where he doth not lead forward, we are bound in the bonds of pure love, to ſtand ſtill and wait upon him. In the love of money, and in the wiſdom of this world, buſineſs is propoſed, then the

urgency

urgency of affairs puſh forward; nor can the mind, in this ſtate, diſcern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

The love of God is manifeſted, in graciouſly calling us to come out of that which ſtands in confuſion; but if we bow not in the name of Jeſus; if we give not up thoſe proſpects of gain, which, in the wiſdom of this world, are open before us, but ſay in our hearts, I muſt needs go on; and in going on, I hope to keep as near to the purity of truth, as the buſineſs before me will admit of: here the mind remains entangled, and the ſhining of the light of life into the ſoul is obſtructed.

This query opens in my mind in the love of Chriſt. Where ſhall a pious father place his ſon apprentice, to be inſtructed in the practice of croſſing the ſeas; and have faith to believe, that Chriſt, our holy Shepherd, leads him to place his ſon there?

Surely the Lord calls to mourning and deep humiliation, that in his fear we may be inſtructed, and led ſafely on through the great difficulties and perplexities in this preſent age.

In an entire ſubjection of our wills, the Lord graciouſly opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wiſdom; and here we experience the ſubſtance of what Moſes the prophet figured out in the water of ſeparation, as a purification from ſin.

Eſau

Eſau is mentioned as a child red all over, like a hairy garment: in Eſau is repreſented the natural will of man. In preparing the water of ſeparation, a red heifer without blemiſh, on which there had been no yoke, was to be ſlain, and her blood ſprinkled by the prieſt ſeven times toward the tabernacle of the congregation: then her ſkin, her fleſh, and all pertaining to her, was to be burnt without the camp; and of her aſhes the water was prepared. Thus the crucifying the old man, or natural will, is repreſented; and hence comes a ſeparation from that carnal mind, which is death.

"He who toucheth the dead body of a "man, and purifieth not himſelf with the "water of ſeparation, he defileth the taber-"nacle of the Lord; he is unclean." Numb. xix. 13.

If any, through the love of gain, go forth into buſineſs, wherein they dwell as amongſt the tombs, and touch the bodies of thoſe who are dead: if theſe, through the infinite love of God, feel the power of the croſs of Chriſt to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the divine leader:—here is the judgment of this world—here the prince of this world is caſt out.

The water of ſeparation is felt; and tho' we have been amongſt the ſlain, and thro' the deſire of gain have touched the dead body of a man; yet, in the purifying love of Chriſt,

Chriſt, we are waſhed in the water of ſeparation, are brought off from that buſineſs, from that gain, and from that fellowſhip, which was not agreeable to his holy will: and I have felt a renewed confirmation in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in his infinite love, is calling to his viſited children, ſo to give up all outward poſſeſſions, and means of getting treaſures, that his Holy Spirit may have free courſe in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings.

To feel the ſubſtance pointed at in this figure, man muſt know death, as to his own will.

"No man can ſee God, and live:" This was ſpoken by the Almighty to Moſes the prophet; and opened by our bleſſed Redeemer.

As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified, and prepared to underſtand clearly. "Bleſſ-" ed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall " ſee God." In purity of heart, the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of univerſal righteouſneſs, or the rightcouſneſs of the kingdom of God. "No man hath ſeen " the Father, ſave he that is of God; he " hath ſeen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life; and in this natural activity, buſineſs is propoſed, and a will in us to go forward in it. And as long as this natural will remains unſubjected, ſo long there

remains

remains an obſtruction againſt the clearneſs of divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart, and with all our ſtrength, then, in this love, we love our neighbours as ourſelves; and a tenderneſs of heart is felt toward all people for whom Chriſt died, even ſuch who as to outward circumſtances may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. Who is my neighbour? See this queſtion anſwered by our Saviour, Luke x. 30.

In this love we can ſay, that Jeſus is the Lord; and the reformation in our ſouls, manifeſted in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God; 2 Cor. v. 18. in this the deſire of gain is ſubjected.

When employment is honeſtly followed in the light of truth; and people become diligent in buſineſs, "fervent in ſpirit; ſerving "the Lord:" Rom. xii. 11. Here the name is opened: "This is the name by which he "ſhall be called, THE LORD OUR "RIGHTEOUSNESS." Jere. xxiii. 6. Oh, how precious is this name! It is like ointment poured out. The chaſte virgins are in love with the Redeemer; and for the promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world, are content to endure hardneſs like good ſoldiers; and are ſo ſeparated in ſpirit, from the deſire of riches, that in their employments, they become extenſively careful to give none offence, neither to Jews nor heathen, nor the church of Chriſt.

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On the thirty-firſt day of the month, and firſt of the week, we had a meeting in the cabbin, with near all the ſhip's company; the whole being near thirty. In this meeting the Lord, in mercy, favoured us with the extendings of his love.

The ſecond day of the ſixth month. Laſt evening the ſeamen found bottom at about ſeventy fathom.

This morning fair wind, and pleaſant: and as I ſat on deck, my heart was overcome with the love of Chriſt, and melted into contrition before him: and in this ſtate, the proſpect of that work, to which I have felt my mind drawn when in my native land, being in ſome degree opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my heavenly Father for preſervation, that in a humble dependance on him, my ſoul may be ſtrengthened in his love, and kept inwardly waiting for his counſel.

This afternoon we ſaw that part of England called the Lizard.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained of thoſe the paſſengers took for their ſea-ſtore: I believe about fourteen periſhed in the ſtorms at ſea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a conſiderable number with ſickneſs, at different times.—I obſerved the cocks crew coming down the Delaware, and while we were near the land; but afterward, I think I did not hear one of them

crow

crow till we came near the land in England, when they again crowed a few times.

In obſerving their dull appearance at ſea, and the pining ſickneſs of ſome of them, I often remembered the fountain of goodneſs, who gave being to all creatures, and whoſe love extends to that of caring for the ſparrows; and believe, where the love of God is verily perfected, and the true ſpirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderneſs toward all creatures made ſubject to us will be experienced; and a care felt in us, that we do not leſſen that ſweetneſs of life, in the animal creation, which the great Creator intends for them under our government.

The fourth day of the month. Wet weather, high winds, and ſo dark that we could ſee but a little way. I perceived our ſeamen were apprehenſive of danger of miſſing the Channel; which, I underſtood, was narrow. In a while, it grew lighter; and they ſaw the land, and they knew where we were. Thus the Father of mercies was pleaſed to try us with the ſight of dangers; and then graciouſly, from time to time, deliver from them: thus ſparing our lives, that in humility and reverence, we may walk before him, and put our truſt in him.

About noon a pilot came off from Dover; where my beloved friend Samuel Emlen went on ſhore, and thence to London, about ſeventy-two miles by land; but I felt eaſy in ſtaying in the ſhip.

The ſeventh day of the month, and firſt of the week. Clear morning, lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ſhip's company; in which, my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience ſalvation thro' Chriſt.—Had a head wind up the Thames; lay ſometimes at anchor; ſaw many ſhips paſſing, and ſome at anchor near; and had large opportunity of feeling the ſpirit in which the poor bewildered ſailors too generally live.—That lamentable degeneracy, which ſo much prevails on the people employed on the ſeas, ſo affected my heart, that I may not eaſily convey the feeling I have had to another.

The preſent ſtate of the ſea-faring life in general, appears ſo oppoſite to that of a pious education; ſo full of corruption, and extreme alienation from God; ſo full of examples, the moſt dangerous to young people, that in looking toward a young generation, I feel a care for them, that they may have an education different from the preſent education of lads at ſea: and that all of us, who are acquainted with the pure goſpel ſpirit, may lay this caſe to heart, may remember the lamentable corruptions which attends the conveyance of merchandize acroſs the ſeas, and ſo abide in the love of Chriſt, that being delivered from the love of money, from the entangling expences of a curious, delicate luxurious life, we may learn contentment with a little; and promote

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the ſea-faring life no further, than that ſpirit, which leads into all truth, attends us in our proceedings.

CHAP. XII.

His attending the yearly-meeting in London; and after it, proceeding towards Yorkſhire, viſiting ſeveral quarterly and other meetings in the counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Weſtmoreland; and thence again into Yorkſhire, and to the city of York; with ſome inſtructive thoughts and obſervations, and letters on divers ſubjects — His hearing of the deceaſe of William Hunt; and ſome account of him — His ſickneſs at York; and end of his pilgrimage there.

ON the eighth day of the ſixth month, 1772, we landed at London; and I went ſtraightway to the yearly-meeting of miniſters and elders, which had been gathered (I ſuppoſe) about half an hour.

In this meeting, my mind was humbly contrite; in the afternoon, the meeting of

buſineſs opened; which, by adjournments, held near a week.—In theſe meetings, I often felt a living concern for the eſtabliſhment of friends in the pure life of truth: and my heart was enlarged in the meeting of miniſters, meeting of buſineſs, and in ſeveral meetings of publick worſhip; and I felt my mind united in true love, to the faithful labourers now gathered at this yearly-meeting.

On the fifteenth day of the month, I left London, and went to a quarterly-meeting at Hertford.

The firſt day of the ſeventh month. I have been at quarterly-meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury and Shipton; and had ſundry meetings between: my mind hath been bowed under a ſenſe of divine goodneſs manifeſted amongſt us; my heart hath been often enlarged in true love, both amongſt miniſters and elders, and in publick meetings; that through the Lord's goodneſs, I believe it hath been a freſh viſitation to many, in particular to the youth.

The ſeventeenth day of the month. Was this day at Birmingham: have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick, in Oxfordſhire, and ſundry other places; have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me; and thro' his tender mercies find peace in the labours I have gone through.

The twenty-ſixth day of the month. I have continued travelling northward, viſiting

ing meetings: was this day at Nottingham; which, in the forenoon eſpecially, was, thro' divine love, a heart-tendering ſeaſon: next day had a meeting in a friend's houſe with friends children and ſome friends; this, thro' the ſtrengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

The ſecond day of the eighth month, and firſt of the week, was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town: have been at ſundry meetings laſt week; and feel inward thankfulneſs for that divine ſupport, which hath been graciouſly extended to me.

The ninth day of the month, and firſt of the week, was at Ruſhworth: have lately paſſed through ſome painful labour; but have been comforted, under a ſenſe of that divine viſitation, which I feel extended toward many young people.

The ſixteenth day of the month, and firſt of the week, was at Settle: it hath of late been a time of inward poverty; under which, my mind hath been preſerved in a watchful tender ſtate, feeling for the mind of the holy Leader, and find peace in the labours I have paſſed through.

On enquiry, in many places, I find the price of rye about five ſhillings, wheat about eight ſhillings, *per* buſhel; oatmeal twelve ſhillings for an hundred and twenty pounds; mutton from three-pence to five-pence *per* pound; bacon, from ſeven-pence to nine-pence; cheeſe, from four-pence to ſix-pence; butter,

butter, from eight-pence to ten-pence; houſe-rent, for a poor man, from twenty-five ſhillings to forty ſhillings *per* year, to be paid weekly; wood, for fire, very ſcarce and dear; coal, in ſome places, two ſhillings and ſix-pence *per* hundred weight; but near the pits, not a quarter ſo much. O, may the wealthy conſider the poor!

The wages of labouring men in ſeveral counties toward London, is ten-pence *per* day in common buſineſs, the employer finds ſmall-beer, and the labourer finds his own food; but in harveſt and hay time, wages is about one ſhilling *per* day, and the labourer hath all his diet. In ſome parts of the north of England, poor labouring men have their food where they work; and appear, in common, to do rather better than nearer London; induſtrious women, who ſpin in the factories, get ſome four-pence, ſome five-pence, and ſo on to ſix, ſeven, eight, nine or ten-pence *per* day, and find their own houſe-room and diet. Great numbers of poor people live chiefly on bread and water in the ſouthern parts of England, and ſome in the northern parts; and there are many poor children not taught even to read. May thoſe who have plenty, lay theſe things to heart!

Stage-coaches frequently go upwards of an hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and I have heard friends ſay, in ſeveral places, that it is common for horſes to be killed with hard

hard driving, and many others driven till they grow blind.

Poſt-boys purſue their buſineſs, each one to his ſtage, all night thro' the winter: ſome boys, who ride long ſtages, ſuffer greatly on winter nights; and, at ſeveral places, I have heard of their being froze to death. So great is the hurry in the ſpirit of this world, that in aiming to do buſineſs quick, and to gain wealth, the creation, at this day, doth loudly groan!

As my journey hath been without a horſe, I have had ſeveral offers of being aſſiſted on my way in theſe ſtage-coaches; but have not been in them: nor have I had freedom to ſend letters by theſe poſts, in the preſent way of their riding; the ſtages being ſo fixed, and one boy dependant on another as to time, that they commonly go upward of one hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and in the cold long winter nights, the poor boys ſuffer much.

I heard in America of the way of theſe poſts, and cautioned friends in the general meeting of miniſters and elders at Philadelphia, and in the yearly-meeting of miniſters and elders at London, not to ſend letters to me on any common occaſion by poſt. And though, on this account, I may be likely to hear ſeldomer from my family left behind; yet, for righteouſneſs ſake, I am, thro' divine favour, made content.

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I have felt great diſtreſs of mind, ſince I came on this iſland, on account of the members of our ſociety being mixed with the world in various ſorts of buſineſs and traffick, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for ſlaves! and in loading theſe ſhips, abundance of people are employed in the factories; amongſt whom are many of our ſociety. Friends, in early times, refuſed, on a religious principle, to make or trade in ſuperfluities; of which, we have many large teſtimonies on record: but for want of faithfulneſs, ſome gave way; even ſome, whoſe examples were of note in our ſociety; and from thence others took more liberty. Members of our ſociety worked in ſuperfluities, and bought and ſold them; and thus dimneſs of ſight came over many: at length, friends got into the uſe of ſome ſuperfluities in dreſs, and in the furniture of their houſes; and this hath ſpread from leſs to more, till ſuperfluity of ſome kinds is common amongſt us.

In this declining ſtate, many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of truth. Of late years, a deep exerciſe hath attended my mind, that friends may dig deep, may carefully caſt forth the looſe matter, and get down to the Rock, the ſure foundation, and there hearken to that divine voice which gives a clear and certain ſound; and I have felt in that which

doth

doth not deceive, that if friends, who have known the truth, keep in that tenderneſs of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their truſt is only on the Lord, he will graciouſly lead ſome to be patterns of deep ſelf-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that ſome, who have plenty of the treaſures of this world, will example in a plain frugal life, and pay wages to ſuch whom they may hire, more liberally than is now cuſtomary in ſome places.

The twenty-third day of the month, was this day at Preſton-Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have, ſeveral times, been entertained at the houſes of friends, who had ſundry things about them which had the appearance of outward greatneſs; and as I have kept inward, way hath opened for converſation with ſuch in private, in which divine goodneſs hath favoured us together, with heart-tendering times.

The twenty-ſixth day of the month. Being now at George Croſfields, in the county of Weſtmoreland, I feel a concern to commit to writing, that which to me hath been a caſe uncommon.

In a time of ſickneſs with the pleuriſy, a little upward of two years and a half ago, I was brought ſo near the gates of death, that I forgot my name: being then deſirous to know who I was, I ſaw a maſs of matter of a dull gloomy colour, between the ſouth

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and the eaſt; and was informed, that this maſs was human beings in as great miſery as they could be, and live; and that I was mixed in with them, and that henceforth I might not conſider myſelf as a diſtinct or ſeparate being. In this ſtate I remained ſeveral hours. I then heard a ſoft melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with my ears before; I believed it was the voice of an angel, who ſpake to the other angels: the words were—*John Woolman is dead.* I ſoon remembered that I once was John Woolman; and being aſſured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean.

I believed, beyond doubting, that it was the voice of an holy angel; but, as yet, it was a myſtery to me.

I was then carried in ſpirit to the mines, where poor oppreſſed people were digging rich treaſures for thoſe called chriſtians; and heard them blaſpheme the name of Chriſt, at which I was grieved; for his name to me was precious.

Then I was informed, that theſe heathen were told, that thoſe who oppreſſed them were the followers of Chriſt; and they ſaid amongſt themſelves, If Chriſt directed them to uſe us in this ſort, then Chriſt is a cruel tyrant.

All this time the ſong of the angel remained a myſtery; and in the morning, my dear wife and ſome others coming to my bedſide,

ſide, I aſked them, if they knew who I was: and they telling me, I was John Woolman, thought I was light-headed: for I told them not what the angel ſaid, nor was I diſpoſed to talk much to any one; but was very deſirous to get ſo deep, that I might underſtand this myſtery.

My tongue was often ſo dry, that I could not ſpeak till I had moved it about and gathered ſome moiſture, and as I lay ſtill for a time, at length I felt divine power prepare my mouth that I could ſpeak; and then I ſaid, "I am crucified with Chriſt, nevertheleſs I live; yet not I, but Chriſt that liveth in me: and the life I now live in the fleſh, is by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himſelf for me."

Then the myſtery was opened; and I perceived there was joy in heaven over a ſinner who had repented; and that that language *(John Woolman is dead)* meant no more than the death of my own will.

Soon after this I coughed, and raiſed much bloody matter; which I had not done during this viſion: and now my natural underſtanding returned as before. — Here I ſaw, that people getting ſilver veſſels to ſet off their tables at entertainments, was often ſtained with worldly glory; and that in the preſent ſtate of things, I ſhould take heed how I fed myſelf from out of ſilver veſſels.

Soon after my recovery, I, going to our monthly-meeting, dined at a friend's houſe where

where drink was brought in ſilver veſſels, and not in any other; and I wanting ſome drink, told him my caſe with weeping: and he ordered ſome drink for me in another veſſel.

The like I afterwards went through in ſeveral friend's houſes in America, and have alſo in England, ſince I came here: and have cauſe, with humble reverence, to acknowledge the loving-kindneſs of my heavenly Father, who hath preſerved me in ſuch a tender frame of mind, that none, I believe, have ever been offended at what I have ſaid on that occaſion.

After this ſickneſs, I ſpake not in publick meetings for worſhip for near one year; but my mind was very often in company with the oppreſſed ſlaves, as I ſat in meetings: and tho', under this diſpenſation, I was ſhut up from ſpeaking, yet the ſpring of the goſpel miniſtry was, many times, livingly opened in me; and the divine gift operated by abundance of weeping, in feeling the oppreſſion of this people. It being ſo long ſince I paſſed thro' this diſpenſation, and the matter remaining freſh and livingly in my mind, I believe it ſafeſt for me to commit it to writing.

The thirtieth day of the month. This morning I wrote a letter, in ſubſtance as follows:

Beloved

Beloved friend,

"MY mind is often affected as I paſs along, under a ſenſe of the ſtate of many poor people, who ſit under that ſort of miniſtry which requires much outward labour to ſupport it; and the loving-kindneſs of our heavenly Father, in opening a pure goſpel miniſtry in this nation, hath often raiſed thankfulneſs in my heart to him. I often remember the conflicts of the faithful under perſecution, and now look at the free exerciſe of the pure gift uninterrupted by outward laws, as a truſt committed to us; which requires our deepeſt gratitude, and moſt careful attention. I feel a tender concern, that the work of reformation, ſo proſperouſly carried on in this land within a few ages paſt, may go forward and ſpread amongſt the nations; and may not go backward, thro' duſt gathering on our garments, who have been called to a work ſo great and ſo precious."

"Laſt evening I had a little opportunity at thy houſe, with ſome of thy family, in thy abſence; in which I rejoiced: and feeling a ſweetneſs on my mind toward thee, I now endeavour to open a little of the feeling I had there."

"I have heard, that you, in theſe parts, have, at certain ſeaſons, meetings of conference, in relation to friends living up to our principles, in which ſeveral meetings unite

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in one; with which I feel unity: I having, in ſome meaſure, felt truth lead that way amongſt friends in America; and have found, my dear friend, that in theſe labours all ſuperfluities in our own living, are againſt us. I feel that pure love toward thee, in which there is freedom."

"I look at that precious gift beſtowed on thee, with awfulneſs before Him who gave it: and feel a care, that we may be ſo ſeparated to the goſpel of Chriſt, that thoſe things which proceed from the ſpirit of this world, may have no place amongſt us."

"Thy friend,

"John Woolman."

I reſted a few days, in body and mind, with our friend Jane Croſfield; who was once in America: was, on the ſixth day of the week, at Kendal in Weſtmoreland; and at Greyrig meeting the thirtieth day of the month, and firſt of the week.

I have known poverty of late; and been graciouſly ſupported to keep in the patience: and am thankful, under a ſenſe of the goodneſs of the Lord toward thoſe that are of a contrite ſpirit.

The ſixth day of the ninth month, and firſt of the week, was this day at Counterſide; a large meeting-houſe, and very full: and thro' the opening of pure love, it was a ſtrengthen-

a ſtrengthening time to me, and (I believe) to many more.

The thirteenth day of the month. Was this day at Richmond, a ſmall meeting; but the town's people coming in, the houſe was crowded: it was a time of heavy labour; and (I believe) was a profitable meeting.

At this place I heard that my kinſman William Hunt from North-Carolina, who was on a religious viſit to friends in England, departed this life on the ninth day of the ninth month, inſtant, of the ſmall-pox, at Newcaſtle.—He appeared in the miniſtry when a youth; and his labours therein were of good ſavor. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him ſay in public teſtimony, that his concern was (in that viſit) to be devoted to the ſervice of Chriſt ſo fully, that he might not ſpend one minute in pleaſing himſelf: which words, joined with his example, was a means of ſtirring up the pure mind in me.

Having of late travelled often in wet weather, thro' narrow ſtreets in towns and villages, where dirtineſs under foot, and the ſcent ariſing from that filth, which more or leſs infects the air of all thick ſettled towns; and I being but weakly, have felt diſtreſs both in body and mind with that which is impure.

In theſe journies I have been where much cloth hath been dyed; and ſundry times

walked

walked over ground, where much of their dye ſtuffs have drained away.

Here I have felt a longing in my mind, that people might come into cleanneſs of ſpirit, cleanneſs of perſon, cleanneſs about their houſes and garments.

Some, who are great, carry delicacy to a great height themſelves, and yet the real cleanlineſs is not generally promoted. Dyes being invented partly to pleaſe the eye, and partly to hide dirt, I have felt in this weak ſtate, travelling in dirtineſs and affected with unwholeſome ſcents, a ſtrong deſire that the nature of dyeing cloth to hide dirt may be more fully conſidered.

To hide dirt in our garments, appears oppoſite to real cleanlineſs.

To waſh garments, and keep them ſweet, this appears cleanly.

Thro' giving way to hiding dirt in our garments, a ſpirit which would cover that which is diſagreeable, is ſtrengthened.

Real cleanneſs becometh a holy people: but hiding that which is not clean by colouring our garments, appears contrary to the ſweetneſs of ſincerity.

Thro' ſome ſorts of dyes, cloth is leſs uſeful; and if the value of dye-ſtuffs, the expence of dyeing, and the damage done to cloth, were all added together, and that expence applied to keep all ſweet and clean, how much more cleanly would people be.

Near

On this visit to England I have felt some instructions sealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing, for the use of such who are called to the station of a minister of Christ.

Christ being the Prince of Peace, and we being no more than ministers, I find it necessary for us, not only to feel a concern in our first going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof, in the appointment of meetings.

I felt a concern in America, to prepare for this voyage; and being through the mercy of God, brought safe here, my heart was like a vessel that wanted vent; and for several weeks at first, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it often felt like the raising of a gate in a water course, where a weight of water lay upon it; and in these labours there appeared a fresh visitation to many, especially the youth; but sometimes after this, I felt empty and poor, and yet felt a necessity to appoint meetings.

In this state I was exercised to abide in the pure life of truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently against the motions of self in my own mind.

I have frequently felt a necessity to stand up, when the spring of the ministry was low, and to speak from the necessity, in that which subjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the suffering seed, and found inward sweetness in these mortifying labours.

As I have been preſerved in a watchful attention to the divine leader, under theſe diſpenſations, enlargement at times hath followed, and the power of truth hath roſe higher in ſome meetings, than I ever knew it before through me.

Thus I have been more and more inſtructed, as to the neceſſity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America, to come on a viſit to England; but upon the freſh inſtructions of Chriſt the Prince of Peace, from day to day.

Now of late, I felt a ſtop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them ſo quick one after another as I have heretofore.

The work of the miniſtry, being a work of divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for, in all our appointments.

Oh how deep is divine wiſdom! Chriſt puts forth his miniſters, and goeth before them; and oh how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth ſafely!

Chriſt knoweth the ſtate of the people, and in the pure feeling of the goſpel miniſtry, their ſtates are opened to his ſervants.

Chriſt knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themſelves have need of purging.

Oh that theſe leſſons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings, may proceed in the pure feeling of duty.

I have

I have ſometimes felt a neceſſity to ſtand up, but that ſpirit which is of the world hath ſo much prevailed in many, and the pure life of truth been ſo preſſed down, that I have gone forward, not as one travelling in a road caſt up, and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place, in which are ſtones here and there, ſafe to ſtep on; but ſo ſituated that one ſtep being taken, time is neceſſary to ſee where to ſtep next.

Now I find that in the pure obedience, the mind learns contentment, in appearing weak and fooliſh to that wiſdom which is of the world; and in theſe lowly labours, they who ſtand in a low place, rightly exerciſed under the croſs, will find nouriſhment.

The gift is pure, and while the eye is ſingle in attending thereto, the underſtanding is preſerved clear; ſelf is kept out; we rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Chriſt, for his body's ſake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations; and if there is not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once labour'd in the pure goſpel miniſtry, growing weary of ſuffering, and aſhamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compaſs themſelves about with ſparks, and walk in the light; not of Chriſt who is under ſuffering; but of that fire, which they, going from the gift, have kindled: And that in hearers, which is gone from the meek ſuffering ſtate, into the worldly wiſdom, may

be warmed with this fire, and ſpeak highly of theſe labours. That which is of God gathers to God; and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the miniſters amongſt us may be preſerved in the meek feeling life of truth, where we may have no deſire, but to follow Chriſt and be with him; that when he is under ſuffering we may ſuffer with him; and never deſire to riſe up in dominion, but as he by the virtue of his own ſpirit may raiſe us.

A few days after writing theſe conſiderations, our dear friend in the courſe of his religious viſits, came to the city of York, and attended moſt of the ſittings of the quarterly meeting there; but before it was over, was taken ill of the ſmall-pox. Our friend Thomas Prieſtman and others who attended him, preſerved the following minutes of his expreſſions in the time of his ſickneſs, and of his deceaſe.

1ſt day, the 27th of the 9th month 1772. His diſorder appeared to be the ſmall-pox: being aſked to have a doctor's advice, he ſignified he had not freedom or liberty in his mind ſo to do, ſtanding wholly reſigned to his will, who gave him life, and whoſe power he had witneſſed to raiſe and heal him in ſickneſs before, when he ſeemed nigh unto death; and if he was to wind up now, he

was

was perfectly reſigned, having no will either to live or die, and did not chooſe any ſhould be ſent for to him: but a young man, an apothecary, coming of his own accord the next day, and deſiring to do ſomething for him, he ſaid he found a freedom to confer with him and the other friends about him, and if any thing ſhould be propoſed, as to medicine that did not come thro' defiled channels or oppreſſive hands, he ſhould be willing to conſider and take it, ſo far as he found freedom.

2d day. He ſaid he felt the diſorder to affect his head, ſo that he could think little, and but as a child; and deſired if his underſtanding ſhould be more affected, to have nothing given him that thoſe about knew he had a teſtimony againſt.

Third-day he uttered the following prayer.—O Lord my God, the amazing horrors of darkneſs were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I ſaw no way to go forth; I felt the depth and extent of the miſery of my fellow creatures ſeparated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was cruſhed down under it, I lifted up my hand, I ſtretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed; in the depths of miſery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee; thou hadſt pity

upon

upon me when no man could help me; I ſaw that meekneſs under ſuffering was ſhewed to us in the moſt affecting example of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I ſaid " thy will O Father be done."

Fourth day morning, being aſked how he felt himſelf, he meekly anſwered, I don't know that I have ſlept this night, I feel the diſorder making its progreſs, but my mind is mercifully preſerved in ſtillneſs and peace: ſometime after he ſaid he was ſenſible the pains of death muſt be hard to bear, but if he eſcaped them now, he muſt ſometime paſs thro' them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He ſaid he had ſettled his outward affairs to his mind, had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return, leaving them to the divine protection; adding, and tho' I feel them near to me at this time, yet I freely give them up, having a hope that they will be provided for. And a little after ſaid, This trial is made eaſier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; for if I was anxious for the event it would have been harder, but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm.

In the night a young woman having given him ſomething to drink, he ſaid, My child thou ſeems very kind to me a poor creature, the Lord will reward thee for it. Awhile after he cried out with great earneſtneſs of ſpirit, Oh my Father! my Father! and ſoon after he ſaid, Oh my Father! my Father!

how

how comfortable art thou to my ſoul in this trying ſeaſon. Being aſked if he could take a little nouriſhment; after ſome pauſe he replied, my child I cannot tell what to ſay to it; I ſeem nearly arrived where my ſoul ſhall have reſt from all its troubles. After giving in ſomething to be inſerted in his journal, he ſaid, I believe the Lord will now excuſe me from exerciſes of this kind; and I ſee no work but one which is to be the laſt wrought by me in this world, the meſſenger will come that will releaſe me from all theſe troubles; but it muſt be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for. He ſaid he had laboured to do whatever was required, according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace; and tho' the diſorder was ſtrong at times, and would like a whirlwind come over his mind; yet it had hitherto been kept ſteady and center'd in everlaſting love; adding, and if that be mercifully continued, I aſk nor deſire no more. Another time he ſaid, he had long had a view of viſiting this nation, and ſometime before he came had a dream, in which he ſaw himſelf in the northern parts of it, and that the ſpring of the goſpel was opened in him much as in the beginning of friends, ſuch as George Fox and William Dewſberry, and he ſaw the different ſtates of the people, as clear as he had ever ſeen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was ſuddenly ſtopt, tho' he could not ſee for what end; but

looking

looking towards home, fell into a flood of tears which waked him.

At another time he ſaid, my draught ſeemed ſtrongeſt towards the North, and I mentioned in my own monthly-meeting, that attending the quarterly-meeting at York, and being there looked like home to me.

Fifth-day night, having repeatedly conſented to take medicine with a view to ſettle his ſtomach, but without effect; the friend then waiting on him, ſaid thro' diſtreſs, what ſhall I do now? He anſwered with great compoſure, Rejoice ever more, and in every thing give thanks; but added a little after, this is ſometimes hard to come at.

Sixth-day morning he broke forth early in ſupplication on this wiſe, O Lord it was thy power that enabled me to forſake ſin in my youth, and I have felt thy bruiſes for diſobedience; but as I bowed under them thou healed me, continuing a father and a friend; I feel thy power now, and I beg that in the approaching trying moment Thou wilt keep my heart ſtedfaſt unto thee. Upon his giving directions to a friend concerning ſome little things, ſhe ſaid I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyſelf; he reply'd, my hope is in Chriſt, and tho' I may ſeem a little better, a change in the diſorder may ſoon happen, and my little ſtrength be diſſolved, and if it ſo happens, I ſhall be gathered to my everlaſting reſt. On her ſaying ſhe did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to ſee ſo many faithful ſervants

vants removed at ſo low a time; he ſaid all good cometh from the Lord, whoſe power is the ſame, and can work as he ſees beſt. The ſame day he had given directions about wrapping his corpſe; perceiving a friend to weep, he ſaid I would rather thou wouldſt guard againſt weeping for me, my ſiſter, I ſorrow not, tho' I have had ſome painful conflicts, but now they ſeem over and matters well ſettled, and I look at the face of my dear redeemer, for ſweet is his voice and his countenance is comely.

Firſt-day, fourth of the tenth month, being very weak and in general difficult to be underſtood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodneſs; and added, how tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction, in which I may ſay in Job's words, Tedious days and wearifome nights are appointed unto me, and how many are ſpending their time and money in vanity and ſuperfluities, while thouſands and tens of thouſands want the neceſſaries of life, who might be relieved by them, and their diſtreſſes at ſuch a time as this, in ſome degree ſoftened by the adminiſtring ſuitable things.

Second-day morning the apothecary who appeared very anxious to aſſiſt him, being preſent, he queried about the probability of ſuch a load of matter being thrown off his weak body, and the apothecary making ſome remarks implying he thought it might; he ſpoke with an audible voice on this wiſe,

My

My dependance is on the Lord Jeſus, who I truſt will forgive my ſins, which is all I hope for, and if it be his will to raiſe up this body again, I am content; and if to die, I am reſigned; and if thou canſt not be eaſy without trying to aſſiſt nature, I ſubmit: after which his throat was ſo much affected, that it was very difficult for him to ſpeak ſo as to be underſtood, and frequently wrote when he wanted any thing. About the ſecond hour on fourth-day morning he aſked for pen and ink, and at ſeveral times with much difficulty wrote thus, I believe my being here is in the wiſdom of Chriſt, I know not as to life or death.

About a quarter before ſix the ſame morning he ſeemed to fall into an eaſy ſleep, which continued about half an hour, when ſeeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired without ſigh, groan, or ſtruggle.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN WOOLMAN.

PART the SECOND.

Containing his LAST EPISTLE and his other WRITINGS.

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M.DCC.LXXIV.

SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

On the KEEPING of

NEGROES.

Recommended to the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity of every Denomination.

Firſt printed in the year 1754.

INTRODUCTION.

CUSTOMS *generally approved, and* opinions *received by youth from their ſuperiors, become like the natural produce of a ſoil, eſpecially when they are ſuited to favourite inclinations: but as the judgments of God are without partiality, by which the ſtate of the ſoul muſt be tried, it would be the higheſt wiſdom to forego cuſtoms and popular opinions, and try the treaſures of the ſoul by the infallible ſtandard* truth.

Natural affection *needs a careful examination: operating upon us in a ſoft manner,* it *kindles deſires of love and tenderneſs, and there is danger of taking it for ſomething higher. To*

me

me it appears an inſtinct like that which inferior creatures have; each of them, we ſee, by the ties of nature, love ſelf *beſt; that which is a part of* ſelf, *they love by the ſame tie or inſtinct. In them it, in ſome meaſure, does the offices of reaſon, by which, among other things, they watchfully keep, and orderly feed their helpleſs offſpring. Thus* natural affection *appears to be a branch of* ſelf-love, *good in the animal race, in us likewiſe, with proper limitations; but otherwiſe is productive of evil, by exciting deſires to promote* ſome *by means prejudicial to* others.

Our bleſſed Saviour ſeems to give a check to this irregular fondneſs in nature, and, at the ſame time, a precedent for us: "Who is my "mother, and who are my brethren?" *thereby intimating, that the earthly ties of relationſhip, are, comparatively, inconſiderable to ſuch, who, thro' a ſteady courſe of obedience, have come to the happy experience of the ſpirit of God bearing witneſs with their ſpirits that they are his children:*—"And he ſtretched forth "his hands towards his diſciples, and ſaid, "Behold my mother, and my brethren: For "whoſoever ſhall do the will of my Fa-"ther which is in heaven *(arrives at the more noble part of true relationſhip)* "the ſame "is my brother, and ſiſter, and mother," *Matt.* xii. 48.

This doctrine agrees well with a ſtate truly compleat, where love *neceſſarily operates according*

cording to the agreeableneſs of things on principles unalterable and in themſelves perfect.

If endeavouring to have my children eminent amongſt men after my death, be that which no reaſons grounded on thoſe principles can be brought to ſupport; then to be temperate in my purſuit after gain, and to keep always within the bounds of thoſe principles, is an indiſpenſable duty, and to depart from it, a dark unfruitful toil.

In our preſent condition, to love *our children is needful; but except this* love *proceeds from the true heavenly principle which ſees beyond earthly treaſures, it will rather be injurious than of any real advantage to them: where the fountain is corrupt, the ſtreams muſt neceſſarily be impure.*

That important injunction of our Saviour, Matt. vi. 33. *with the Promiſe annexed, contains a ſhort but comprehenſive view of our duty and happineſs:—If then the buſineſs of mankind in this life, is, to firſt ſeek another; if this cannot be done, but by attending to the means; if a ſummary of the means is,* Not to do that to another which, in like circumſtances, we would not have done unto us, *then theſe are points of moment, and worthy of our moſt ſerious conſideration.*

What I write on this ſubject is with reluctance, and the hints given are in as general terms as my concern would allow: I know it is a point about which, in all its branches, men that appear to aim well are not generally agreed;

greed; and for that reaſon, I choſe to avoid being very particular.—If I may happily have let drop any thing that may excite ſuch as are concerned in the practice to a cloſe thinking on the ſubject treated of, the candid amongſt them may eaſily do the ſubject ſuch further juſtice, as, on an impartial enquiry, it may appear to deſerve; and ſuch an enquiry I would earneſtly recommend.

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SOME

SOME

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

MATT. XXV. 40.

Foraſmuch as ye did it to the leaſt of theſe my brethren, ye did it unto me.

AS many times there are different motives to the ſame actions; and one does that from a generous heart, which another does for ſelfiſh ends.—The like may be ſaid in this caſe.

There are various circumſtances amongſt them that keep negroes, and different ways by which they fall under their care; and, I doubt not, there are many well-diſpoſed perſons amongſt them who deſire rather to manage wiſely and juſtly in this difficult matter, than to make gain of it.

But the general diſadvantage which theſe poor Africans lie under in an enlight'ned chriſtian country, having often filled me with real ſadneſs, and been like undigeſted matter on my mind, I now think it my duty, thro' divine aid, to offer ſome thoughts thereon to the conſideration of others.

When we remember that all nations are of one blood, Gen iii. 20. that in this world we are but ſojourners, that we are ſubject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like diſorders and frailties in mind, the like temptations, the ſame death, and the ſame judgment, and, that the all-wiſe Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it ſeems to raiſe an idea of a general brotherhood, and a diſpoſition eaſy to be touched with a feeling of each others afflictions: but when we forget thoſe things, and look chiefly at our outward circumſtances, in this and ſome ages paſt, conſtantly retaining in our minds the diſtinction betwixt us and them, with reſpect to our knowledge and improvement in things divine, natural and artificial, our breaſts being apt to be filled with fond notions of ſuperiority, there is danger of erring in our conduct toward them.

We allow them to be of the ſame ſpecies with ourſelves; the odds is, we are in a higher ſtation, and enjoy greater favours than they. And when it is thus, that our heavenly Father endoweth ſome of his children with diſtinguiſhed gifts, they are intended for good ends; but if thoſe thus gifted are thereby lifted up above their brethren, not conſidering themſelves as debtors to the weak, nor behaving themſelves as faithful ſtewards, none who judge impartially can ſuppoſe them free from ingratitude.

When a people dwell under the liberal diſtribution of favours from heaven, it behoves

hoves them carefully to inſpect their ways, and conſider the purpoſes for which thoſe favours were beſtowed, leſt, thro' forgetfulneſs of God, and miſuſing his gifts, they incur his heavy diſpleaſure, whoſe judgments are juſt and equal, who exalteth and humbleth to the duſt as he ſeeth meet.

It appears, by Holy Record, that men under high favours have been apt to err in their opinions concerning others. Thus Iſrael, according to the deſcription of the prophet, Iſa. lxv. 5. when exceedingly corrupted and degenerated, yet remembered they were the choſen people of God; and could ſay, "Stand "by thyſelf, come not near me, for I am ho-"lier than thou." That this was no chance language, but their common opinion of other people, more fully appears, by conſidering the circumſtances which attended when God was beginning to fulfil his precious promiſes concerning the gathering of the Gentiles.

The Moſt-High, in a viſion, undeceived Peter, firſt prepared his heart to believe; and, at the houſe of Cornelius, ſhewed him of a certainty that God was no reſpecter of perſons.

The effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon a people, with whom they, the Jewiſh chriſtians would not ſo much as eat, was ſtrange to them: All they of the circumciſion were aſtoniſhed to ſee it; and the apoſtles and brethren of Judea contended with Peter about it, till he, having rehearſed the whole matter, and fully ſhewn that the Father's love

was unlimited, they are thereat ſtruck with admiration, and cry out, " Then hath God " alſo to the Gentiles granted repentance " unto life!"

The opinion of peculiar favours being confined to them, was deeply rooted, or elſe the above inſtance had been leſs ſtrange to them, for theſe reaſons: Firſt, They were generally acquainted with the writings of the prophets, by whom this time was repeatedly ſpoken of, and pointed at. Secondly, Our bleſſed Lord ſhortly before expreſly ſaid, " I " have other ſheep, not of this fold, them " alſo muſt I bring," &c. Laſtly, His words to them after his reſurrection, at the very time of his aſcenſion, " Ye ſhall be witneſſes " to me, not only in Jeruſalem, Judea, and " Samaria, but to the uttermoſt parts of the " earth."

Thoſe concurring circumſtances, one would think, might have raiſed a ſtrong expectation of ſeeing ſuch a time; yet, when it came, it proved matter of offence and aſtoniſhment.

To conſider mankind otherwiſe than brethren, to think favours are peculiar to one nation, and exclude others, plainly ſuppoſes a darkneſs in the underſtanding: for as God's love is univerſal, ſo where the mind is ſufficiently influenced by it, it begets a likeneſs of itſelf, and the heart is enlarged towards all men. Again, to conclude a people froward, perverſe, and worſe by nature than others (who ungratefully receive favours, and apply them to bad ends) this will excite

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a behaviour toward them unbecoming the excellence of true religion.

To prevent ſuch error, let us calmly conſider their circumſtance; and, the better to do it, make their caſe ours. Suppoſe, then, that our anceſtors and we had been expoſed to conſtant ſervitude, in the more ſervile and inferior employments of life; that we had been deſtitute of the help of reading and good company; that amongſt ourſelves we had had few wiſe and pious inſtructors; that the religious amongſt our ſuperiors ſeldom took notice of us; that while others, in eaſe, have plentifully heaped up the fruit of our labour, we had received barely enough to relieve nature; and being wholly at the command of others, had generally been treated as a contemptible, ignorant part of mankind: ſhould we, in that caſe, be leſs abject than they now are? Again, If oppreſſion be ſo hard to bear, that a wiſe man is made mad by it, Eccl. vii. 7. then a ſeries of thoſe things altering the behaviour and manners of a people, is what may reaſonably be expected.

When our property is taken contrary to our mind, by means appearing to us unjuſt, it is only through divine influence, and the enlargement of heart from thence proceeding, that we can love our reputed oppreſſors: if the Negroes fall ſhort in this, an uneaſy, if not a diſconſolate diſpoſition, will be awakened, and remain like ſeeds in their minds, producing ſloth and many other habits

bits appearing odious to us; with which, being free men, they, perhaps, had not been chargeable. Theſe, and other circumſtances, rightly conſidered, will leſſen that too great diſparity, which ſome make between us and them.

Integrity of heart hath appeared in ſome of them; ſo that, if we continue in the word of Chriſt (previous to diſcipleſhip, John viii. 31.) and our conduct towards them be ſeaſoned with his love, we may hope to ſee the good effect of it: the which, in a good degree, is the caſe with ſome into whoſe hands they have fallen: but that too many treat them otherwiſe, not ſeeming conſcious of any neglect, is, alas! too evident.

When ſelf-love preſides in our minds, our opinions are biaſſed in our own favour; in this condition, being concerned with a people ſo ſituated, that they have no voice to plead their own cauſe, there's danger of uſing ourſelves to an undiſturbed partiality, till, by long cuſtom, the mind becomes reconciled with it, and the judgment itſelf infected.

To humbly apply to God for wiſdom, that we may thereby be enabled to ſee things as they are, and ought to be, is very needful; hereby the hidden things of darkneſs may be brought to light, and the judgment made clear: we ſhall then conſider mankind as brethren. Though different degrees and a variety of qualifications and abilities, one dependant on another, be admitted, yet high

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thoughts will be laid aſide, and all men treated as becometh the ſons of one father, agreeable to the doctrine of Chriſt Jeſus.

" He hath laid down the beſt criterion, by which mankind ought to judge of their own conduct, and others judge for them of theirs, one towards another, viz. " Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto " you, do ye even ſo to them." I take it, that all men by nature, are equally entitled to the equity of this rule, and under the indiſpenſable obligations of it. One man ought not to look upon another man, or ſociety of men, as ſo far beneath him; but that he ſhould put himſelf in their place, in all his actions towards them, and bring all to this teſt, viz. How ſhould I approve of this conduct, were I in their circumſtance, and they in mine?" A. Arſcot's Conſiderations, p. III, fol. 107.

This doctrine being of a moral unchangeable nature, hath been likewiſe inculcated in the former diſpenſation; " If a ſtranger ſo-" journ with thee in your land, ye ſhall not " vex him; but the ſtranger that dwelleth " with you, ſhall be as one born amongſt " you, and thou ſhalt love him as thyſelf," Lev. xix. 33, 34. Had theſe people come voluntary and dwelt amongſt us, to have called them ſtrangers would be proper; and their being brought by force, with regret, and a languiſhing mind, may well raiſe compaſſion in a heart rightly diſpoſed: but there is nothing in ſuch treatment, which upon a wife

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and judicious conſideration, will any ways leſſen their right of being treated as ſtrangers. If the treatment which many of them meet with, be rightly examined and compared with thoſe precepts, "Thou ſhalt not "vex him nor oppreſs him; he ſhall be as "one born amongſt you, and thou ſhalt love "him as thyſelf," Lev. xix. 33. Deut. xxvii. 19. there will appear an important difference betwixt them.

It may be objected there is coſt of purchaſe, and riſque of their lives to them who poſſeſs 'em, and therefore needful that they make the beſt uſe of their time: in a practice juſt and reaſonable, ſuch objections may have weight; but if the work be wrong from the beginning, there is little or no force in them. If I purchaſe a man who hath never forfeited his liberty, the natural right of freedom is in him; and ſhall I keep him and his poſterity in ſervitude and ignorance? "How ſhould I approve of this conduct, were I in his circumſtances, and he in mine?" It may be thought, that to treat them as we would willingly be treated, our gain by them would be inconſiderable: and it were, in divers reſpects, better that there were none in our country.

We may further conſider, that they are now amongſt us, and thoſe of our nation the cauſe of their being here; that whatſoever difficulty accrues thereon, we are juſtly chargeable with, and to bear all inconveniencies attending it, with a ſerious and weigh-

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ty concern of mind to do our duty by them, is the beſt we can do. To ſeek a remedy by continuing the oppreſſion, becauſe we have power to do it, and ſee others do it, will, I apprehend, not be doing as we would be done by.

How deeply ſoever men are involved in the moſt exquiſite difficulties, ſincerity of heart, and upright walking before God, freely ſubmitting to his providence, is the moſt ſure remedy: He only is able to relieve, not only perſons, but nations, in their greateſt calamities.

David, in a great ſtrait, when the ſenſe of his paſt error, and the full expectation of an impending calamity, as the reward of it, were united to the aggravating his diſtreſs, after ſome deliberation, ſaith, "Let me fall "now into the hands of the Lord, for very "great are his mercies; let me not fall in-"to the hand of man." 1 Chron. xxi. 13.

To act continually with integrity of heart, above all narrow or ſelfiſh motives, is a ſure token of our being partakers of that ſalvation which "God hath appointed for walls "and bulwarks," Iſa. v. 26. Rom. xv. 8. and is, beyond all contradiction, a more happy ſituation than can ever be promiſed by the utmoſt reach of art and power united, not proceeding from heavenly wiſdom.

A ſupply to nature's lawful wants, joined with a peaceful, humble mind, is the trueſt happineſs in this life; and if here we arrive to this, and remain to walk in the path of

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the juſt, our caſe will be truly happy: and though herein we may part with, or miſs of ſome glaring ſhews of riches, and leave our children little elſe but wiſe inſtructions, a good example, and the knowledge of ſome honeſt employment; theſe, with the bleſſing of Providence, are ſufficient for their happineſs, and are more likely to prove ſo, than laying up treaſures for them, which are often rather a ſnare, than any real benefit; eſpecially to them, who, inſtead of being exampled to temperance, are in all things taught to prefer the getting of riches, and to eye the temporal diſtinctions they give, as the principal buſineſs of this life. Theſe readily overlook the true happineſs of man, as it reſults from the enjoyment of all things in the fear of God, and, miſerably ſubſtituting an inferior good, dangerous in the acquiring, and uncertain in the fruition, they are ſubject to many diſappointments, and every ſweet carries its ſting.

It is the concluſion of our bleſſed Lord and his apoſtles, as appears by their lives and doctrines, that the higheſt delights of ſenſe, or moſt pleaſing objects viſible, ought ever to be accounted infinitely inferior to that real intellectual happineſs ſuited to man in his primitive innocence, and now to be found in true renovation of mind; and that the comforts of our preſent life, the things moſt grateful to us, ought always to be received with temperance, and never made the chief objects of our deſire, hope, or love; but that

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our whole heart and affections be principally looking to that " city, which hath founda-" tions, whoſe maker and builder is God." Did we ſo improve the gifts beſtowed on us, that our children might have an education ſuited to theſe doctrines, and our example to confirm it, we might rejoice in hopes of their being heirs of an inheritance incorruptible.

This inheritance, as chriſtians, we eſteem the moſt valuable; and how then can we fail to deſire it for our children? O that we were conſiſtent with ourſelves, in purſuing means neceſſary to obtain it!

It appears, by experience, that where children are educated in fulneſs, eaſe and idleneſs, evil habits are more prevalent, than in common amongſt ſuch who are prudently employed in the neceſſary affairs of life: and if children are not only educated in the way of ſo great temptation, but have alſo the opportunity of lording it over their fellow-creatures, and being maſters of men in their childhood, how can we hope otherwiſe than that their tender minds will be poſſeſſed with thoughts too high for them? which, by continuance, gaining ſtrength, will prove, like a ſlow current, gradually ſeparating them from (or keeping from acquaintance with) that humility and meekneſs in which alone laſting happineſs can be enjoyed.

Man is born to labour, and experience abundantly ſheweth, that it is for our good: but where the powerful lay the burthen on the inferior, without affording a chriſtian

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education, and ſuitable opportunity of improving the mind, and a treatment which we, in their caſe, ſhould approve, that themſelves may live at eaſe, and fare ſumptuouſly, and lay up riches for their poſterity, this ſeems to contradict the deſign of Providence, and, I doubt, is ſometimes the effect of a perverted mind: for while the life of one is made grievous by the rigour of another, it entails miſery on both.

Amongſt the manifold works of Providence, diſplayed in the different ages of the world, theſe which follow (with many others) may afford inſtruction.

Abraham was called of God to leave his country and kindred, to ſojourn amongſt ſtrangers: through famine, and danger of death, he was forced to flee from one kingdom to another: he, at length, not only had aſſurance of being the father of many nations, but became a mighty prince. Geneſis xxiii. 6.

Remarkable were the dealings of God with Jacob in a low eſtate, the juſt ſenſe he retained of them after his advancement, appears by his words: "I am not worthy of "the leaſt of all thy mercies," Geneſis xxxii. 10. xlviii. 15.

The numerous afflictions of Joſeph are very ſingular; the particular providence of God therein, no leſs manifeſt: he, at length, became governor of Egypt, and famous for wiſdom and virtue.

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The ſeries of troubles David paſſed thro', few amongſt us are ignorant of; and yet he afterwards became as one of the great men of the earth.

Some evidences of the divine wiſdom appears in thoſe things, in that ſuch who are intended for high ſtations, have firſt been very low and dejected, that truth might be ſealed on their hearts; and that the characters there imprinted by bitterneſs and adverſity, might in after years remain, ſuggeſting compaſſionate ideas, and, in their proſperity, quicken their regard to thoſe in the like condition: which yet further appears in the caſe of Iſrael: they were well acquainted with grievous ſufferings, a long and rigorous ſervitude; then, thro' many notable events, were made chief amongſt the nations: to them we find a repetition of precepts to the purpoſe aboveſaid: though, for ends agreeable to infinite wiſdom, they were choſe as a peculiar people for a time; yet the Moſt High acquaints them, that his love is not confined, but extends to the ſtranger; and, to excite their compaſſion, reminds them of times paſt, "Ye were ſtrangers in the land "of Egypt," Deut. x. 19. Again, "Thou "ſhalt not oppreſs a ſtranger, for ye know "the heart of a ſtranger, ſeeing ye were "ſtrangers in the land of Egypt," Exod. xxiii. 9.

If we call to mind our beginning, ſome of us may find a time, wherein our fathers were

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under afflictions, reproaches, and manifold ſufferings.

Reſpecting our progreſs in this land, the time is ſhort ſince our beginning was ſmall and number few, compared with the native inhabitants. He that ſleeps not by day nor night, hath watched over us, and kept us as the apple of his eye. His almighty arm hath been round about us, and ſaved us from dangers.

The wilderneſs and ſolitary deſarts in which our fathers paſſed the days of their pilgrimage, are now turned into pleaſant fields; the natives are gone from before us, and we eſtabliſhed peaceably in the poſſeſſion of the land, enjoying our civil and religious liberties; and, while many parts of the world have groaned under the heavy calamities of war, our habitation remains quiet, and our land fruitful.

When we trace back the ſteps we have trodden, and ſee how the Lord hath opened a way in the wilderneſs for us, to the wiſe it will eaſily appear, that all this was not done to be buried in oblivion; but to prepare a people for more fruitful returns, and the remembrance thereof, ought to humble us in proſperity, and excite in us a chriſtian benevolence towards our inferiors.

If we do not conſider theſe things aright, but, through a ſtupid indolence, conceive views of intereſt, ſeparate from the general good of the great brotherhood, and, in purſuance thereof, treat our inferiors with ri-

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gour, to increaſe our wealth, and gain riches for our children; "What then ſhall we do "when God riſeth up? and when he viſit- "eth, what ſhall we anſwer him? did not "he that made us, make them? and did not "one faſhion us in the womb?" Job xxxi. 13, 14.

To our great maſter we ſtand or fall, to judge or condemn us as is moſt ſuitable toh is wiſdom or authority; my inclination is to perſuade, and intreat, and ſimply give hints of my way of thinking.

If the chriſtian religion be conſidered, both reſpecting its doctrines, and the happy influence which it hath on the minds and manners of all real chriſtians, it looks reaſonable to think, that the miraculous manifeſtation thereof to the world, is a kindneſs beyond expreſſion.

Are we the people thus favoured? are we they whoſe minds are opened, influenced, and governed by the Spirit of Chriſt, and thereby made ſons of God? is it not a fair concluſion, that we, like our heavenly Father, ought, in our degree, to be active in the ſame great cauſe, of the eternal happineſs of, at leaſt, our whole families, and more, if thereto capacitated?

If we, by the operation of the Spirit of Chriſt, become heirs with him in the kingdom of his Father, and are redeemed from the alluring counterfeit joys of this world, and the joy of Chriſt remain in us, to ſuppoſe that one remaining in this happy condition,

dition, can, for the ſake of earthly riches, not only deprive his fellow-creatures of the ſweetneſs of freedom, (which, rightly uſed, is one of the greateſt temporal bleſſings) but therewith neglect uſing proper means, for their acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the advantage of true religion, ſeems, at leaſt, a contradiction to reaſon.

Whoever rightly advocates the cauſe of ſome, thereby promotes the good of all. The ſtate of mankind was harmonious in the beginning, and though ſin hath introduced diſcord, yet, through the wonderful love of God, in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, the way is open for our redemption, and means appointed to reſtore us to primitive harmony. That if one ſuffer by the unfaithfulneſs of another, the mind, the moſt noble part of him that occaſions the diſcord, is thereby alienated from its true and real happineſs.

Our duty and intereſt is inſeparably united, and when we neglect or miſuſe our talents, we neceſſarily depart from the heavenly fellowſhip, and are in the way to the greateſt of evils.

Therefore to examine and prove ourſelves, to find what harmony the power preſiding in us bears with the divine nature, is a duty not more incumbent and neceſſary, than it would be beneficial.

In Holy Writ the Divine Being ſaith of himſelf, "I am the Lord, which exerciſe "loving-kindneſs, judgment and righteouſ-

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" neſs in the earth; for in theſe things I de-
" light, ſaith the Lord," Jer. ix. 24. Again, ſpeaking in the way of man, to ſhew his compaſſion to Iſrael, whoſe wickedneſs had occaſioned a calamity, and then being humbled under it, it is ſaid, " His ſoul was " grieved for their miſeries," Judges x. 16. If we conſider the life of our bleſſed Saviour when on earth, as it is recorded by his followers, we ſhall find, that one uniform deſire for the eternal, and temporal good of mankind, diſcovered itſelf in all his actions.

If we obſerve men, both apoſtles and others, in many different ages, who have really come to the unity of the Spirit, and the fellowſhip of the ſaints, there ſtill appears the like diſpoſition, and in them the deſire of the real happineſs of mankind, has outbalanced the deſire of eaſe, liberty, and, many times, life itſelf.

If upon a true ſearch, we find that our natures are ſo far renewed, that to exerciſe righteouſneſs and loving-kindneſs (according to our ability) towards all men, without reſpect of perſons, is eaſy to us, or is our delight; if our love be ſo orderly, and regular, that he who doeth the will of our Father, who is in heaven, appears in our view, to be our neareſt relation, our brother, and ſiſter, and mother; if this be our caſe, there is a good foundation to hope, that the bleſſing of God will ſweeten our treaſures during our ſtay in this life, and our memory be ſavory, when we are entered into reſt.

To conclude, 'Tis a truth moſt certain, that a life guided by wiſdom from above, agreeable with juſtice, equity, and mercy, is throughout conſiſtent and amiable, and truly beneficial to ſociety; the ſerenity and calmneſs of mind in it, affords an unparallelled comfort in this life, and the end of it is bleſſed.

And, no leſs true, that they, who in the midſt of high favours, remain ungrateful, and under all the advantages that a chriſtian can deſire, are ſelfiſh, earthly, and ſenſual, do miſs the true fountain of happineſs, and wander in a maze of dark anxiety, where all their treaſures are inſufficient to quiet their minds: hence, from an inſatiable craving, they neglect doing good with what they have acquired, and too often add oppreſſion to vanity, that they may compaſs more.

"O that they were wiſe, that they underſtood this, that they would conſider their latter end!" Deut. xxxii. 29.

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CONSIDERATIONS

On the KEEPING of

NEGROES.

Recommended to the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity of every Denomination.

PART the SECOND.

Firſt printed in the year 1762.

DEUT. i. 17.

Ye ſhall not reſpect perſons in judgment; but ye ſhall hear the ſmall as well as the great: ye ſhall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's.

PREFACE.

ALL our actions are of like nature with their root; and the Moſt High weigheth them more ſkilfully than Men can weigh them one for another,

I believe that one Supreme Being made and ſupports the world; nor can I worſhip any other Deity without being an idolater, and guilty of wickedneſs.

Many nations have believed in, and worſhipped a plurality of deities; but I do not believe they were therefore all wicked. Idolatry indeed is wickedneſs; but it is the thing, not the name, which is ſo. Real idolatry is to pay that adoration to a creature, which is known to be due only to the true God.

He who profeſſeth to believe one Almighty Creator, and in his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and is yet more intent on the honours, profits and friendſhips of the world, than he is in ſingleneſs of heart to ſtand faithful to the chriſtian religion, *is in the channel of idolatry; while the* Gentile, *who, under ſome miſtaken opinions, is notwithſtanding eſtabliſhed in the true principle of virtue, and humbly adores an almighty power, may be of that number who fear God, and work righteouſneſs.*

I believe the biſhop of Rome aſſumes a power, that does not belong to any officer in the church of Chriſt; and if I ſhould knowingly do any thing, tending to ſtrengthen him in that capacity, it would be great iniquity. There are many thouſands of people, who by their profeſſion acknowledge him to be the repreſentative of Jeſus Chriſt on earth; and to ſay that none of them are upright in heart, would be contrary to my ſentiments.

Men who ſincerely apply their minds to true virtue, and find an inward ſupport from above, by which all vicious inclinations are made ſubject; that they love God ſincerely, and prefer the real good of mankind univerſally to their

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own private intereſt; though theſe, through the ſtrength of education and tradition, may remain under ſome ſpeculative and great errors, it would be uncharitable to ſay, that therefore God rejects them.—He who creates, ſupports and gives underſtanding to all men, his knowledge and goodneſs is ſuperior to the various caſes and circumſtances of his creatures, which to us appear the moſt difficult.

The apoſtles and primitive chriſtians did not cenſure all the Gentiles as wicked men, Rom. ii. 14. *Col.* iii. 11. *but as they were favoured with a gift to diſcern things more clearly, reſpecting the worſhip of the true God, they with much firmneſs declared againſt the worſhipping of Idols; and with true patience endured many ſufferings, on that account.*

Great numbers of faithful Proteſtants have contended for the truth, in oppoſition to papal *errors; and with true fortitude laid down their lives in the conflict, without ſaying, That no man was ſaved who made profeſſion of that religion.*

While we have no right to keep men as ſervants for term of life, but that of ſuperior power; to do this, with deſign by their labour to profit ourſelves and our families, I believe is wrong; but I do not believe that all who have kept ſlaves, have therefore been chargeable with guilt. If their motives thereto were free from ſelfiſhneſs, and their ſlaves content, they were a ſort of freemen; which I believe hath ſometimes been the caſe.

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Whatever a man does in the ſpiri of charity, to him it is not ſin: and while he lives and acts in this ſpirit, he learns all things eſſential to his happineſs, as an individual: and if he doth not ſee that any injury or injuſtice, to any other perſon, is neceſſarily promoted by any part of his form of government, I believe the merciful Judge will not lay iniquity to his charge. Yet others, who live in the ſame ſpirit of charity, from a clear convincement, may ſee the relation of one thing to another, and the neceſſary tendency of each; and hence it may be abſolutely binding on them to deſiſt from ſome parts of conduct, which ſome good men have been in.

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PART the SECOND.

AS ſome in moſt religious ſocieties amongſt the Engliſh are concerned in importing or purchaſing the inhabitants of Africa as ſlaves; and as the profeſſors of chriſtianity of ſeveral other nations do the like; theſe circumſtances tend to make people leſs apt to examine the practice ſo cloſely as they would, if ſuch a thing had not been, but was now propoſed to be entered upon. It is however our duty, and what concerns us individually, as creatures accountable to our Creator, to employ rightly the underſtanding which he hath given us, in humbly endeavouring to be acquainted with his will concerning us, and with the nature and tendency of thoſe things which we practiſe: for as juſtice remains to be juſtice, ſo many people, of reputation in the world

world, joining with wrong things, do not excuſe others in joining with them, nor make the conſequence of their proceedings leſs dreadful in the final iſſue, than it would be otherwiſe.

Where unrighteouſneſs is juſtified from one age to another, it is like dark matter gathering into clouds over us. We may know that this gloom will remain till the cauſe be removed by a reformation, or change of times; and may feel a deſire, from a love of equity, to ſpeak on the occaſion; yet where error is ſo ſtrong, that it may not be ſpoken againſt, without ſome proſpect of inconvenience to the ſpeaker, this difficulty is likely to operate on our weakneſs, and quench the good deſires in us; except we dwell ſo ſteadily under the weight of it, as to be made willing to "endure hardneſs" on that account.

Where men exert their talents againſt vices generally accounted ſuch, the ill effects whereof are preſently perceived in a government, all men who regard their own temporal good, are likely to approve the work. But when that which is inconſiſtent with perfect equity, hath the law, or countenance of the great in its favour, though the tendency thereof be quite contrary to the true happineſs of mankind in an equal, if not greater, degree, than many things accounted reproachful to chriſtians; yet, as theſe ill effects are not generally perceived, they who labour to diſſuade from ſuch things, which

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people believe accord with their intereſt, have many difficulties to encounter.

The repeated charges, which God gave to his prophets, imply the danger they were in of erring on this Hand. "Be not afraid of "their faces; for I am with thee, to deliver "thee, ſaith the Lord." Jer. i. 8. "Speak "all the words that I command thee to "ſpeak to them; diminiſh not a word." Jer. xxvi. 2. "And thou, ſon of man, be not "afraid of them, nor diſmayed at their "looks. Speak my words to them, whether "they will hear or forbear." Ezek. ii. 6, 7.

Under an apprehenſion of duty, I offer ſome further conſiderations on this ſubject, having endeavoured ſome years to conſider it candidly. I have obſerved people of our own colour, whoſe abilities have been inferior to the affairs which relate to their convenient ſubſiſtence, who have been taken care of by others, and the profit of ſuch work as they could do, applied toward their ſupport.—I believe there are ſuch amongſt negroes; and that ſome people, in whoſe hands they are, keep them with no view of outward profit, do not conſider them as black men, who, as ſuch, ought to ſerve white men; but account them perſons who have need of guardians, and as ſuch take care of them: yet where equal care is taken in all parts of education, I do not apprehend caſes of this ſort are likely to occur more frequently amongſt one ſort of people than another.

It

It looks to me that the ſlave trade was founded, and hath generally been carried on, in a wrong ſpirit; that the effects of it are detrimental to the real proſperity of our country; and will be more ſo, except we ceaſe from the common motives of keeping them, and treat them in future agreeable to truth and pure juſtice.

Negroes may be imported, who, for their cruelty to their countrymen, and the evil diſpoſition of their minds, may be unfit to be at liberty; and if we, as lovers of righteouſneſs, undertake the management of them, we ſhould have a full and clear knowledge of their crimes, and of thoſe circumſtances which might operate in their favour; but the difficulty of obtaining this is ſo great, that we have great reaſon to be cautious therein. But, ſhould it plainly appear that abſolute ſubjection was a condition the moſt proper for the perſon who is purchaſed, yet the innocent children ought not to be made ſlaves, becauſe their parents ſinned.

We have account in holy ſcripture of ſome families ſuffering, where mention is only made of the heads of the family committing wickedneſs; and it is likely that the degenerate Jews, miſunderſtanding ſome occurrences of this kind, took occaſion to charge God with being unequal; ſo that a ſaying became common, "The Fathers have eaten ſour grapes, "and the children's teeth are ſet on edge." Jeremiah and Ezekiel, two of the inſpired prophets, who lived near the ſame time, were

concerned

concerned to correct this error. Ezekiel is large on the subject. First, he reproves them for their error. "What mean ye, that ye "do so," chap. xviii. verse 2. "As I live, "saith the Lord God, ye shall not have oc- "casion any more to use this proverb in Is- "rael." The words, "any more," have reference to time past; intimating, that tho' they had not rightly understood some things they had heard or seen, and thence supposed the proverb to be well grounded; yet hence- forth they might know of a certainty, that the ways of God are all equal; that as sure as the Most High liveth, so sure men are on- ly answerable for their own sins.—He thus sums up the matter, ver. 20. "The soul that "sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear "the iniquity of the father; neither shall the "father bear the iniquity of the son. The "righteousness of the righteous shall be up- "on him; and the wickedness of the wicked "shall be upon him.

Where men are wicked, they commonly are a means of corrupting the succeeding age; and thereby hasten those outward calamities, which fall on nations, when their iniquities are full.

Men may pursue means which are not a- greeable to perfect purity, with a view to in- crease the wealth and happiness of their off- spring, and thereby make the way of virtue more difficult to them. And though the ill example of a parent, or a multitude, does not excuse a man in doing evil, yet the mind be-

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ing early impreſſed with vicious notions and practices, and nurtured up in ways of getting treaſure, which are not the ways of truth; this wrong ſpirit getting firſt poſſeſſion, and being thus ſtrengthened, frequently prevents due attention to the true ſpirit of wiſdom, ſo that they exceed in wickedneſs thoſe who lived before them. And in this channel, though parents labour, as they think, to forward the happineſs of their children, it proves a means of forwarding their calamity. This being the caſe in the age next before the grievous calamity in the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and carrying Judah captive to Babylon, they might ſay with propriety, This came upon us, becauſe our fathers forſook God, and becauſe we did worſe than our fathers. See Jer. vii. 26.

As the generation next before them inwardly turned away from God, who yet waited to be gracious; and as they in that age continued in thoſe things which neceſſarily ſeparated from perfect goodneſs, growing more ſtubborn, till the judgments of God were poured out upon them; they might properly ſay, "Our fathers have ſinned, and we have "borne their iniquities:" Lam. v. 7. And yet, wicked as their fathers were, had they not ſucceeded them in their wickedneſs, they had not borne their iniquities.

To ſuppoſe it right, that an innocent man ſhall at this day be excluded from the common rules of juſtice; be deprived of that liberty, which is the natural right of human creatures; and be a ſlave to others during life,

life, on account of a ſin committed by his immediate parents; or a ſin committed by Ham, the ſon of Noah; is a ſuppoſition too groſs to be admitted into the mind of any perſon, who ſincerely deſires to be governed by ſolid principles.

It is alledged, in favour of the practice, that Joſhua made ſlaves of the Gibeonites.

What men do by the command of God, and what comes to paſs as a conſequence of their neglect, are different; ſuch as the latter caſe now mentioned was.

It was the expreſs command of the Almighty to Iſrael, concerning the inhabitants of the promiſed land, "Thou ſhalt make no "covenant with them, nor with their Gods: "They ſhall not dwell in thy land," Exod. xxiii. 32. Thoſe Gibeonites came craftily, telling Joſhua, that they were come from a far country; that their elders had ſent them to make a league with the people of Iſrael; and as an evidence of their being foreigners, ſhewed their old cloaths, &c. "And the "men took of their victuals, and aſked not "counſel at the mouth of the Lord; and "Joſhua made peace with them, and made "a league with them, to let them live; and "the princes ſware to them." Joſh. xcvi. 14, 15.

When the impoſition was diſcovered, the congregation murmured againſt the princes: "But all the princes ſaid to all the congrega- "tion, we have ſworn to them by the Lord "God of Iſrael; now therefore we may not "touch them; we will even let them live,

"leſt

" left wrath be upon us; but let them be
" hewers of wood, and drawers of water un-
" to the congregation.

Omitting to aſk counſel, involved them in great difficulty. The Gibeonites were of thoſe cities, of which the Lord ſaid, " Thou ſhalt " ſave alive nothing that breatheth;" and of the ſtock of the Hivites, concerning whom he commanded by name, " Thou ſhalt ſmite " them, and utterly deſtroy them: Thou " ſhalt make no covenant with them, nor " ſhew mercy unto them," Deut. vii. 1. Thus Joſhua and the princes, not knowing them, had made a league with them, to let them live; and in this ſtrait they reſolve to make them ſervants. Joſhua and the princes ſuſpected them to be deceivers: " Peradventure " you dwell amongſt us: and how ſhall we " make a league with you?" Which words ſhew, that they remembered the command before mentioned; and yet did not enquire at the mouth of the Lord, as Moſes directed Joſhua, when he gave him a charge reſpecting his duty as chief man among that people, Numb. xxvii. 21. By this omiſſion things became ſo ſituated, that Joſhua and the princes could not execute the judgments of God on them, without violating the oath which they had made.

Moſes did amiſs at the waters of Meribah; and doubtleſs he ſoon repented; for the Lord was with him. And it is likely that Joſhua was deeply humbled, under a ſenſe of his omiſſion; for it appears that God continued him

him in his office, and ſpared the lives of thoſe people, for the ſake of the league and oath made in his name.

The wickedneſs of theſe people was great, and they worthy to die, or perfect juſtice had not paſſed ſentence of death upon them; and as their execution was prevented by this league and oath, they appear content to be ſervants: "As it ſeemeth good and right unto thee to "do unto us, do.

Theſe criminals, inſtead of death, had the ſentence of ſervitude pronounced on them, in theſe words, "Now therefore ye are curſed; "and there ſhall none of you be freed from "being bondmen, and hewers of wood, "and drawers of water for the houſe of my "God."

We find, Deut. xx. 10. that there were cities far diſtant from Canaan, againſt which Iſrael went to battle; unto whom they were to proclaim peace, and if the inhabitants made anſwer of peace, and opened their gates, they were not to deſtroy them, but make them tributaries.

The children of Iſrael were then the Lord's hoſt, and executioners of his judgments on people hardened in wickedneſs.—They were not to go to battle, but by his appointment. The men who were chief in his army, had their inſtructions from the Almighty; ſometimes immediately, and ſometimes by the miniſtry of angels. Of theſe, amongſt others, were Moſes, Joſhua, Othniel, and Gideon; ſee Exod. iii. 2. and xviii. 19. Joſh. v. 13.

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Theſe people far off from Canaan, againſt whom Iſrael was ſent to battle, were ſo corrupt, that the creator of the univerſe ſaw it good to change their ſituation; and in caſe of their opening their gates, and coming under tribute, this their ſubjection, though probably more mild than abſolute ſlavery, was to laſt little or no longer than while Iſrael remained in the true ſpirit of government.

It was pronounced by Moſes the prophet, as a conſequence of their wickedneſs, "The "ſtranger that is within thee ſhall get above "thee very high; and thou ſhalt come down "very low: he ſhall be the head, and thou "the tail." Deut. xxviii. 43, 44.

This we find in ſome meaſure verified in their being made tributaries to the Moabites, Midianites, Amorites and Philiſtines.

It is alledged in favour of the practice of ſlave-keeping, that the Jews by their law made ſlaves of the Heathen, Levit. xxv. 45. "Moreover, of the children of the ſtrangers "that do ſojourn amongſt you, of them ſhall "ye buy, and of their children, which are "with you, which they begat in your land; "and they ſhall be your poſſeſſion; and you "ſhall take them as an inheritance for your "children after you, to inherit them as a "poſſeſſion, they ſhall be your bondmen for "ever."——It is difficult for us to have any certain knowledge of the mind of Moſes, in regard to keeping ſlaves, any other way than by looking upon him as a true ſervant of God, whoſe mind and conduct were regulated by

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an inward principle of juſtice and equity. To admit a ſuppoſition that he in that caſe was drawn from perfect equity by the alliance of outward kindred, would be to diſown his authority.

Abraham had ſervants born in his houſe, and bought with his money: "And the Al-"mighty ſaid of Abraham, I know him, "that he will order his houſe after him." Which implies, that he was as a father, an inſtructor, and a good governor over his people.——And Moſes, conſidered as a man of God, muſt neceſſarily have had a proſpect of ſome real advantage in the ſtrangers and heathens being ſervants to the Iſraelites for a time.

As mankind had received and eſtabliſhed many erroneous opinions and hurtful cuſtoms, their living and converſing with the Jews, while the Jews ſtood faithful to their principles, might be helpful to remove thoſe errors, and reform their manners.——But for men, with private views, to aſſume an abſolute power over the perſons and properties of others; and continue it from age to age in the line of natural generation, without regard to the virtues and vices of their ſucceſſors, as it is manifeſtly contrary to true univerſal love, and attended with great evils, there requires the cleareſt evidence to beget a belief in us, that Moſes intended that the ſtrangers ſhould as ſuch be ſlaves to the Jews.

He directed them to buy ſtrangers and ſojourners.—It appears that there were ſtrang-

ers in Iſrael who were free men; and conſidering with what tenderneſs and humanity the Jews, by their law, were obliged to uſe their ſervants, and what care was to be taken to inſtruct them in the true religion, it is not unlikely that ſome ſtrangers in poverty and diſtreſs were willing to enter into bonds to ſerve the Jews as long as they lived; and in ſuch caſe the Jews, by their law, had a right to their ſervice during life.

When the awl was bored through the ear of the Hebrew ſervant, the text ſaith, "He "ſhall ſerve for ever;" yet we do not ſuppoſe that by the word "for ever," it was intended that none of his poſterity ſhould afterwards be free; when it is ſaid in regard to the ſtrangers which they bought, "They "ſhall be your poſſeſſion," it may be well underſtood to mean only the perſons ſo purchaſed; all preceding relates to buying them; and what follows, to the continuance of their ſervice, "You ſhall take them as an inhe-"ritance to your children after you; they "ſhall be your bondmen for ever." It may be well underſtood to ſtand limited to thoſe they purchaſed.

Moſes, directing Aaron and his ſons to waſh their hands and feet, when they went into the tabernacle of the congregation, ſaith, "It ſhall be a ſtatute for ever to them, even "to him and his ſeed throughout all gene-"rations." And to expreſs the continuance of the law, it was his common language, "It ſhall be a ſtatute for ever throughout

"your

"your generations." So that had he intended the poſterity of the ſtrangers ſo purchaſed to continue in ſlavery to the Jews, it looks likely that he would have uſed ſome terms clearly to expreſs it. The Jews undoubtedly had ſlaves, whom they kept as ſuch from one age to another; but that this was agreeable to the genuine deſign of their inſpired lawgiver, is far from being a clear caſe.

Making conſtructions of the law contrary to the true meaning of it, was common amongſt that people.——Samuel's ſons took bribes, and perverted judgment.——Iſaiah complained that they juſtified the wicked for reward. —— Zephaniah, cotemporary with Jeremiah, on account of the injuſtice of the civil magiſtrates, declared that thoſe judges were evening wolves; and that the prieſts did violence to the law.

Jeremiah acquaints us, that the prieſts cried peace, peace, when there was no peace; by which means the people grew bold in their wickedneſs; and having committed abominations, were not aſhamed; but, thro' wrong conſtructions of the law, they juſtified themſelves, and boaſtingly ſaid "We are "wiſe; and the law of the Lord is with us." Theſe corruptions continued till the days of our Saviour, who told the Phariſees, "You "have made the commandment of God of "none effect through your tradition."

Thus it appears that they corrupted the law of Moſes; nor is it unlikely that among many others this was one; for oppreſſing the

ſtrangers was a heavy charge againſt the Jews, and very often ſtrongly repreſented by the Lord's faithful prophets.

That the liberty of man was, by the inſpired law-giver, eſteemed precious, appears in this; that ſuch who unjuſtly deprived men of it, were to be puniſhed in like manner as if they had murdered them. "He "that ſtealeth a man, and ſelleth him; or if "he be found in his hand, ſhall ſurely be "put to death." This part of the law was ſo conſiderable, that Paul, the learned Jew, giving a brief account of the uſes of the law, adds this, "It was made for men-ſtealers," 1 Tim. i. 10.

The great men amongſt that people were exceeding oppreſſive; and, it is likely, exerted their whole ſtrength and influence to have the law conſtrued to ſuit their turns.—The honeſt ſervants of the lord had heavy work with them in regard to their oppreſſion; a few inſtances follow. "Thus ſaith "the Lord of hoſts, the God of Iſrael, a-"mend your ways, and your doings; and I "will cauſe you to dwell in this place. If "you throughly execute judgment between "a man and his neighbour; if you oppreſs "not the ſtranger, the fatherleſs and the wi-"dow; and ſhed not innocent blood in this "place; neither walk after other gods to "your hurt, then will I cauſe you to dwell "in this place," Jer. vii.——Again a meſſage was ſent not only to the inferior miniſters of juſtice, but alſo to the chief ruler. "Thus

" Thus ſaith the Lord, go down to the houſe " of the king of Judah, and ſpeak there this " word; execute ye judgment and righteouſ- " neſs, and deliver the ſpoiled out of the " hand of the oppreſſor; and do no wrong; " do no violence to the ſtranger, the father- " leſs and the widow; neither ſhed innocent " blood in this place." Then adds, " That " in ſo doing they ſhould proſper; but if ye " will not hear theſe words, I ſwear by my- " ſelf, ſaith the Lord, that this houſe ſhall " become a deſolation," Jer. xxii.

The king, the princes and rulers were agreed in oppreſſion before the Babyloniſh captivity; for whatever courts of juſtice were retained amongſt them; or however they decided matters betwixt men of eſtates, it is plain that the cauſe of the poor was not judged in equity.

It appears that the great men amongſt the Jews were fully reſolved to have ſlaves, even of their own brethren, Jer. xxxiv. Notwithſtanding the promiſes and threatenings of the Lord, by the prophet, and their ſolemn covenant to ſet them free, confirmed by the imprecation of paſſing between the parts of a calf cut in twain; intimating, by that ceremony, that on breach of the covenant, it were juſt for their bodies to be ſo cut in pieces.—Yet after all, they held faſt to their old cuſtom, and called home the ſervants whom they had ſet free.—" And ye were " now turned, and had done right in my " ſight, in proclaiming liberty every man to

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" his neighbour; and ye had made a cove-
" nant before me, in the houſe which is call-
" ed by my name; but ye turned, and pol-
" luted my name, and cauſed every man his
" ſervant, whom he had ſet at liberty at their
" pleaſure, to return, and brought them in-
" to ſubjection, to be unto you for ſervants,
" and for handmaids: therefore thus ſaith
" the Lord, ye have not hearkened unto me,
" in proclaiming liberty every one to his
" neighbour, and every one to his brother.
" Behold, I proclaim liberty to you, ſaith
" the Lord, to the ſword, to the peſtilence,
" and to the famine; and I will make you
" to be removed into all the kingdoms of the
" earth.—The men who tranſgreſſed my co-
" venant which they made, and paſſed be-
" tween the parts of the calf, I will give in-
" to the hands of their enemies, and their
" dead bodies ſhall be for meat unto the
" fowls of the heaven, and the beaſts of the
" earth."

Soon after this their city was taken and burnt; the king's ſons and the princes ſlain; and the king, with the chief men of his kingdom, carried captive to Babylon.—Ezekiel, propheſying the return of that people to their own land, directs, " Ye ſhall divide the
" land by lot, for an inheritance unto you,
" and to the ſtrangers that ſojourn amongſt
" you; in what tribe the ſtranger ſojourns,
" there ſhall ye give him his inheritance,
" ſaith the Lord God." Nor is this particular direction, and the authority with which

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it is enforced, without a tacit implication, that their anceſtors had erred in their conduct towards the ſtranger.

Some who keep ſlaves, have doubted as to the equity of the practice; but as they knew men, noted for their piety, who were in it, this, they ſay, has made their minds eaſy.

To lean on the example of men in doubtful caſes, is difficult: for only admit, that thoſe men were not faithful and upright to the higheſt degree, but that in ſome particular caſe they erred, and it may follow that this one caſe was the ſame, about which we are in doubt; and to quiet our minds by their example, may be dangerous to ourſelves; and continuing in it, prove a ſtumbling block to tender-minded people who ſucceed us, in like manner as their examples are to us.

But ſuppoſing charity was their only motive, and they not foreſeeing the tendency of paying robbers for their booty, were not juſtly under the imputation of being partners with a thief, Prov. xxix. 24. but were really innocent in what they did, are we aſſured that we keep them with the ſame views they kept them? If we keep them from no other motive than a real ſenſe of duty, and true charity governs us in all our proceedings toward them, we are ſo far ſafe: but if another ſpirit, which inclines our minds to the ways of this world, prevail upon us, and we are concerned for our own outward gain more than for their real happineſs, it will avail us

nothing

nothing that ſome good men have had the care and management of Negroes.

Since mankind ſpread upon the earth, many have been the revolutions attending the ſeveral families, and their cuſtoms and ways of life different from each other. This diverſity of manners, though ſome are preferable to others, operates not in favour of any, ſo far as to juſtify them to do violence to innocent men; to bring them from their own to another way of life. The mind, when moved by a principle of true love, may feel a warmth of gratitude to the univerſal father, and a lively ſympathy with thoſe nations, where divine Light has been leſs manifeſt.

This deſire for their real good may beget a willingneſs to undergo hardſhips for their ſakes, that the true knowledge of God may be ſpread amongſt them: but to take them from their own land, with views of profit to ourſelves, by means inconſiſtent with pure juſtice, is foreign to that principle which ſeeks the happineſs of the whole creation. Forced ſubjection, of innocent perſons of full age, is inconſiſtent with right reaſon; on one ſide, the human mind is not naturally fortified with that firmneſs in wiſdom and goodneſs, neceſſary to an independant ruler; on the other ſide, to be ſubject to the uncontroulable will of a man, liable to err, is moſt painful and afflicting to a conſcientious creature.

It is our happineſs faithfully to ſerve the divine Being, who made us: his perfection

makes

makes our ſervice reaſonable; but ſo long as men are biaſſed by narrow ſelf-love, ſo long an abſolute power over other men is unfit for them.

Men, taking on them the government of others, may intend to govern reaſonably, and make their ſubjects more happy than they would be otherwiſe; but, as abſolute command belongs only to him who is perfect, where frail men, in their own wills, aſſume ſuch command, it hath a direct tendency to vitiate their minds, and make them more unfit for government.

Placing on men the ignominious title S L A V E, dreſſing them in uncomely garments, keeping them to ſervile labour, in which they are often dirty, tends gradually to fix a notion in the mind, that they are a ſort of people below us in nature, and leads us to conſider them as ſuch in all our concluſions about them. And, moreover, a perſon which in our eſteem is mean and contemptible, if their language or behaviour toward us is unſeemly or diſreſpectful, it excites wrath more powerfully than the like conduct in one we accounted our equal or ſuperior; and where this happens to be the caſe, it diſqualifies for candid judgment; for it is unfit for a perſon to ſit as judge in a caſe where his own perſonal reſentments are ſtirred up; and, as members of ſociety in a well framed government, we are mutually dependent. Preſent intereſt incites to duty, and makes each man attentive to the conveni-

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ence of others; but he whoſe will is a law to others, and can enforce obedience by puniſhment; he whoſe wants are ſupplied without feeling any obligation to make equal returns to his benefactor, his irregular appetites find an open field for motion, and he is in danger of growing hard, and inattentive to their convenience who labour for his ſupport; and ſo loſes that diſpoſition, in which alone men are fit to govern.

The Engliſh government hath been commended by candid foreigners for the diſuſe of racks and tortures, ſo much practiſed in ſome ſtates; but this multiplying ſlaves now leads to it; for where people exact hard labour of others, without a ſuitable reward, and are reſolved to continue in that way, ſeverity to ſuch who oppoſe them becomes the conſequence; and ſeveral Negroe criminals, among the Engliſh in America, have been executed in a lingering, painful way, very terrifying to others.

It is a happy caſe to ſet out right, and perſevere in the ſame way: a wrong beginning leads into many difficulties; for to ſupport one evil, another becomes cuſtomary; two produces more; and the further men proceed in this way, the greater their dangers, their doubts and fears; and the more painful and perplexing are their circumſtances; ſo that ſuch who are true friends to the real and laſting intereſt of our country, and candidly conſider the tendency of things, cannot but feel ſome concern on this account.

There

There is that ſuperiority in men over the brute creatures, and ſome of them ſo manifeſtly dependent on men for a living, that for them to ſerve us in moderation, ſo far as relates to the right uſe of things, looks conſonant to the deſign of our Creator.

There is nothing in their frame, nothing relative to the propagating their ſpecies, which argues the contrary; but in men there is. The frame of men's bodies, and the diſpoſition of their minds are different; ſome, who are tough and ſtrong, and their minds active, chuſe ways of life requiring much labour to ſupport them; others are ſoon weary; and though uſe makes labour more tolerable, yet ſome are leſs apt for toil than others, and their minds leſs ſprightly. Theſe latter labouring for their ſubſiſtence, commonly chuſe a life eaſy to ſupport, being content with a little. When they are weary they may reſt, take the moſt advantageous part of the day for labour; and in all caſes proportion one thing to another, that their bodies be not oppreſſed.

Now, while each is at liberty, the latter may be as happy, and live as comfortably as the former; but where men of the firſt ſort have the latter under abſolute command, not conſidering the odds in ſtrength and firmneſs, do, ſometimes, in their eager purſuit, lay on burthens grievous to be borne; by degrees grow rigorous, and, aſpiring to greatneſs, they increaſe oppreſſion, and the true order of kind Providence is ſubverted.

There

There are weakneſſes ſometimes attending us, which make little or no alteration in our countenances, nor much leſſen our appetite for food, and yet ſo affect us, as to make labour very uneaſy. In ſuch caſe maſters, intent on putting forward buſineſs, and jealous of the ſincerity of their ſlaves, may diſbelieve what they ſay, and grievouſly afflict them.

Action is neceſſary for all men, and our exhauſting frame requires a ſupport, which is the fruit of action. The earth muſt be laboured to keep us alive: labour is a proper part of our life; to make one anſwer the other in ſome uſeful motion, looks agreeable to the deſign of our Creator. Motion, rightly managed, tends to our ſatisfaction, health and ſupport.

Thoſe who quit all uſeful buſineſs, and live wholly on the labour of others, have their exerciſe to ſeek; ſome ſuch uſe leſs than their health requires; others chuſe that which, by the circumſtances attending it, proves utterly reverſe to true happineſs. Thus, while ſome are divers ways diſtreſſed for want of an open channel of uſeful action, thoſe who ſupport them ſigh, and are exhauſted in a ſtream too powerful for nature, ſpending their days with too little ceſſation from labour.

Seed ſown with the tears of a confined oppreſſed people, harveſt cut down by an overborne diſcontented reaper, makes bread leſs ſweet to the taſte of an honeſt man, than that which is the produce, or juſt reward of

ſuch voluntary action, which is one proper part of the buſineſs of human creatures.

Again, the weak ſtate of the human ſpecies, in bearing and bringing forth their young, and the helpleſs condition of their young beyond that of other creatures, clearly ſhew that Perfect Goodneſs deſigns a tender care and regard ſhould be exerciſed toward them; and that no imperfect, arbitrary power ſhould prevent the cordial effects of that ſympathy, which is, in the minds of well-met pairs, to each other, and toward their offspring.

In our ſpecies the mutual ties of affection are more rational and durable than in others below us; the care and labour of raiſing our offspring much greater. The ſatisfaction ariſing to us in their innocent company, and in their advances from one rational improvement to another, is conſiderable, when two are thus joined, and their affections ſincere. It however happens among ſlaves, that they are often ſituate in different places; and their ſeeing each other depends on the will of men, liable to human paſſions, and a bias in judgment; who, with views of ſelf-intereſt, may keep them apart more than is right. Being abſent from each other, and often with other company, there is a danger of their affections being alienated, jealouſies ariſing, the happineſs otherwiſe reſulting from their offspring fruſtrated, and the comforts of marriage deſtroyed.—Theſe things being conſidered cloſely,

ly, as happening to a near friend, will appear to be hard and painful.

He who reverently obſerves that goodneſs manifeſted by our gracious Creator toward the various ſpecies of beings in this world, will ſee, that in our frame and conſtitution is clearly ſhewn that innocent men, capable to manage for themſelves, were not intended to be ſlaves.

A perſon lately travelling amongſt the Negroes near Senegal, hath this remark; "Which way ſoever I turned my eyes on "this pleaſant ſpot, I beheld a perfect image "of pure nature; an agreeable ſolitude, "bounded on every ſide by charming land-"ſkips, the rural ſituation of cottages in the "midſt of trees. The eaſe and indolence of "the Negroes reclined under the ſhade of "their ſpreading foliage; the ſimplicity of "their dreſs and manners; the whole reviv-"ed in my mind the idea of our firſt parents, "and I ſeemed to contemplate the world in "its primitive ſtate." M. Adanſon, page 55.

Some Negroes in theſe parts, who have had an agreeable education, have manifeſted a brightneſs of underſtanding equal to many of us. A remark of this kind we find in Boſman, page 328. "The Negroes of Fida, "ſaith he, are ſo accurately quick in their "merchandize accounts, that they eaſily "reckon as juſtly and quickly in their heads "only, as we with the aſſiſtance of pen and "ink, though the ſum amounts to ſeveral "thouſands."

Through

Through the force of long cuſtom, it appears needful to ſpeak in relation to colour.—Suppoſe a white child, born of parents of the meaneſt ſort, who died and left him an infant, falls into the hands of a perſon, who endeavours to keep him a ſlave, ſome men would account him an unjuſt man in doing ſo, who yet appear eaſy while many black people, of honeſt lives, and good abilities, are enſlaved, in a manner more ſhocking than the caſe here ſuppoſed. This is owing chiefly to the idea of ſlavery being connected with the black colour, and liberty with the white:—and where falſe ideas are twiſted into our minds, it is with difficulty we get fairly diſentangled.

A traveller, in cloudy weather, miſſeth his way, makes many turns while he is loſt; ſtill forms in his mind, the bearing and ſituation of places, and though the ideas are wrong, they fix as faſt as if they were right. Finding how things are, we ſee our miſtake; yet the force of reaſon, with repeated obſervations on places and things, do not ſoon remove thoſe falſe notions, ſo faſtened upon us, but it will ſeem in the imagination as if the annual courſe of the ſun was altered; and though, by recollection, we are aſſured it is not, yet thoſe ideas do not ſuddenly leave us.

Selfiſhneſs being indulged, clouds the underſtanding; and where ſelfiſh men, for a long time, proceed on their way, without oppoſition, the deceiveableneſs of unrighteouſneſs gets ſo rooted in their intellects, that

a candid

a candid examination of things relating to ſelf-intereſt is prevented; and in this circumſtance, ſome who would not agree, to make a ſlave of a perſon whoſe colour is like their own, appear eaſy in making ſlaves of others of a different colour, though their underſtandings and morals are equal to the generality of men of their own colour.

The colour of a man avails nothing, in matters of right and equity. Conſider colour in relation to treaties; by ſuch, diſputes betwixt nations are ſometimes ſettled. And ſhould the father of us all ſo diſpoſe things, that treaties with black men ſhould ſometimes be neceſſary, how then would it appear amongſt the princes and ambaſſadors, to inſiſt on the prerogative of the white colour?

Whence is it that men, who believe in a righteous omnipotent Being, to whom all nations ſtand equally related, and are equally accountable, remain ſo eaſy in it; but for that the ideas of Negroes and ſlaves are ſo interwoven in the mind, that they do not diſcuſs this matter with that candour and freedom of thought, which the caſe juſtly calls for?

To come at a right feeling of their condition, requires humble ſerious thinking; for, in their preſent ſituation, they have but little to engage our natural affection in their favour.

Had we a ſon or a daughter involved in the ſame caſe, in which many of them are, it would alarm us, and make us feel their condition

dition without ſeeking for it. The adverſity of an intimate friend will incite our compaſſion, while others, equally good, in the like trouble, will but little affect us.

Again, the man in worldly honour, whom we conſider as our ſuperior, treating us with kindneſs and generoſity, begets a return of gratitude and friendſhip toward him. We may receive as great benefits from men a degree lower than ourſelves, in the common way of reckoning, and feel ourſelves leſs engaged in favour of them. Such is our condition by nature; and theſe things being narrowly watched and examined, will be found to center in ſelf-love.

The blacks ſeem far from being our kinsfolks, and did we find an agreeable diſpoſition and ſound underſtanding in ſome of them, which appeared as a good foundation for a true friendſhip between us, the diſgrace ariſing from an open friendſhip with a perſon of ſo vile a ſtock, in the common eſteem, would naturally tend to hinder it.—They have neither honours, riches, outward magnificence nor power; their dreſs coarſe, and often ragged; their employ drudgery, and much in the dirt: they have little or nothing at command; but muſt wait upon and work for others, to obtain the neceſſaries of life; ſo that, in their preſent ſituation, there is not much to engage the friendſhip, or move the affection of ſelfiſh men: but ſuch who live in the ſpirit of true charity, to ſympathiſe with

the afflicted in the loweſt ſtations of life, is a thing familiar to them.

Such is the kindneſs of our Creator, that people, applying their minds to ſound wiſdom, may, in general, with moderate exerciſe, live comfortably, where no miſapplied power hinders it.——We in theſe parts have cauſe gratefully to acknowledge it. But men leaving the true uſe of things, their lives are leſs calm, and have leſs of real happineſs in them.

Many are deſirous of purchaſing and keeping ſlaves, that they may live in ſome meaſure conformable to thoſe cuſtoms of the times, which have in them a tincture of luxury; for when we, in the leaſt degree, depart from that uſe of the creatures, for which the Creator of all things intended them, there luxury begins.

And if we conſider this way of life ſeriouſly, we ſhall ſee there is nothing in it ſufficient to induce a wiſe man to chuſe it, before a plain, ſimple way of living. If we examine ſtately buildings and equipage, delicious food, ſuperfine cloaths, ſilks and linens; if we conſider the ſplendour of choice metal faſtened upon raiment, and the moſt ſhowy inventions of men; it will yet appear that the humble-minded man, who is contented with the true uſe of houſes, food and garments, and chearfully exerciſeth himſelf agreeable to his ſtation in civil ſociety, to earn them, acts more reaſonably, and diſcovers

covers more ſoundneſs of underſtanding in his conduct, than ſuch who lay heavy burdens on others, to ſupport themſelves in a luxurious way of living.

George Buchanan, in his hiſtory of Scotland, page 62, tells of ſome ancient inhabitants of Britain, who were derived from a people that "had a way of marking their bodies, as ſome ſaid, with inſtruments of iron, with variety of pictures, and with animals of all ſhapes, and wear no garments, that they ſhould not hide their pictures; and were therefore called Picts."

Did we ſee thoſe people ſhrink with pain, for a conſiderable time together, under the point or edge of this iron inſtrument, and their bodies all bloody with the operation; did we ſee them ſometimes naked, ſuffering with cold, and refuſe to put on garments, that thoſe imaginary enſigns of grandeur might not be concealed, it is likely we ſhould pity their folly, and fondneſs for thoſe things: but if we candidly compare their conduct, in that caſe, with ſome conduct amongſt ourſelves, will it not appear that our folly is the greateſt?

In true goſpel ſimplicity, free from all wrong uſe of things, a ſpirit which breathes peace and good will is cheriſhed; but when we aſpire after imaginary grandeur, and apply to ſelfiſh means to attain our end, this deſire, in its original, is the ſame with the Picts in cutting figures on their bodies; but

the evil conſequences attending our proceedings are the greateſt.

A covetous mind, which ſeeks opportunity to exalt itſelf, is a great enemy to true harmony in a country: envy and grudging uſually accompany this diſpoſition, and it tends to ſtir up its likeneſs in others. And where this diſpoſition ariſeth ſo high, as to embolden us to look upon honeſt induſtrious men as our own property during life, and to keep them to hard labour, to ſupport us in thoſe cuſtoms which have not their foundation in right reaſon; or to uſe any means of oppreſſion; a haughty ſpirit is cheriſhed on one ſide, and the deſire of revenge frequently on the other, till the inhabitants of the land are ripe for great commotion and trouble; and thus luxury and oppreſſion have the ſeeds of war and deſolation in them.

Some Account of the SLAVE-TRADE,

From the writings of perſons who have been at the places where they are firſt purchaſed, viz.

BOSMAN on Guinea, who was a factor for the Dutch about ſixteen years in that country, (page 339) thus remarks: "But "ſince I have ſo often mentioned that com- "merce, I ſhall deſcribe how it is managed "by our factors. The firſt buſineſs of one "of

" of our factors, when he comes to Fida, is " to satisfy the customs of the king, and the " great men, which amounts to about one " hundred pounds, in Guinea value, as the " goods must sell there. After which we " have free licence to trade, which is pub- " lished throughout the whole land by the " cryer. And yet before we can deal with " any person, we are obliged to buy the " king's whole stock of slaves, at a set price; " which is commonly one third or fourth " higher than ordinary. After which, we " have free leave to deal with all his subjects, " of what rank soever. But if there happen " to be no stock of slaves, the factor must " resolve to run the risk of trusting the in- " habitants with goods, to the value of one " or two hundred slaves; which commodi- " ties they send into the inland country, in " order to buy with them slaves at all mar- " kets, and that sometimes two hundred " miles deep in the country: for you ought " to be informed, that markets of men are " here kept in the same manner as they of " beasts are with us.

" Most of the slaves which are offered to " us, are prisoners of war, which are sold " by the victors as their booty.——When " these slaves come to Fida, they are put in " prisons all together; and when we treat " concerning them, they are all brought out " in a large plain, where, by our surgeons, " whose province it is, they are thoroughly " examined, even to the smallest member,

" and

" and that naked, both men and women,
" without the leaſt diſtinction or modeſty.
" Thoſe which are approved as good, are ſet
" on one ſide. The invalids and maimed
" being thrown out, the remainder are num-
" bered, and it is entered who delivered
" them: in the mean while a burning iron,
" with the arms or name of the company,
" lies in the fire, with which ours are mark-
" ed on the breaſt. This is done, that we
" may diſtinguiſh them from the ſlaves of
" the Engliſh, French, or others. When
" we have agreed with the owners of the
" ſlaves, they are returned to their priſons,
" where, from that time forward, they are
" kept at our charge, coſt us two-pence a
" day a ſlave, which ſerves to ſubſiſt them,
" like our criminals, on bread and water:
" ſo that, to ſave charges, we ſend them on
" board our ſhips the firſt opportunity; be-
" fore which their maſters ſtrip them of all
" they have on their backs, ſo that they
" come aboard ſtark naked, as well women
" as men; in which condition they are o-
" bliged to continue, if the maſter of the
" ſhip is not ſo charitable (which he com-
" monly is) as to beſtow ſomething on them,
" to cover their nakedneſs.

Same author, page 310. " The inhabi-
" tants of Popo, as well as thoſe of Coto, de-
" pend on plunder, and the ſlave-trade, in
" both which they very much exceed the lat-
" ter; for being endowed with more courage,
" they rob more ſucceſsfully, and by that

" means

" means increaſe their trade: notwithſtand-
" ing which, to freight a veſſel with ſlaves,
" requires ſome months attendance. In the
" year 1697, in three days time I could get
" but three ſlaves; but they aſſured me, that
" if I would have patience for other three
" days only, they ſhould be able to deliver
" me one or two hundred."

Boſman, page 440. " We caſt anchor at
" cape Mizurada, but not one Negroe coming
" on board, I went on ſhore; and being deſi-
" rous to be informed why they did not come
" on board, was anſwered, That about two
" months before, the Engliſh had been there
" with two veſſels, and had ravaged the coun-
" try, deſtroyed all their canoes, plundered
" their houſes, and carried off ſome of their
" people for ſlaves; upon which the re-
" mainder fled to the inland country. They
" tell us, they live in peace with all their
" neighbours, and have no notion of any
" other enemy than the Engliſh; of which
" nation they had taken ſome then: and
" publickly declared, that they would en-
" deavour to get as many of them, as the
" two mentioned ſhips had carried off of
" their natives. Theſe unhappy Engliſh
" were in danger of being ſacrificed to the
" the memory of their friends, which ſome
" of their nation carried off."

EX-

EXTRACTS from a Collection of VOYAGES. Vol. I.

THE author, a popiſh miſſionary, ſpeaking of his departing from the Negroe country to Brazil, ſaith, "I remember the duke of Bambay (a Negroe chief) one day ſent me ſeveral blacks, to be my ſlaves, which I would not accept of; but ſent them back to him. I afterwards told him, I came not into his country to make ſlaves; but rather to deliver thoſe from the ſlavery of the devil, whom he kept in miſerable thraldom. The ſhip I went aboard was loaded with elephants teeth, and ſlaves, to the number of ſix hundred and eighty men, women and children. It was a pitiful ſight to behold how all theſe people were beſtowed. The men were ſtanding in the hold, faſtened one to another with ſtakes, for fear they ſhould riſe and kill the whites: the women were between the decks, and thoſe that were with child in the great cabbin: the children in the ſteerage, preſſed together like herrings in a barrel; which cauſed an intolerable heat and ſtench." Page 507.

"It is now time (ſaith the ſame author) to ſpeak of a brutiſh cuſtom theſe people have amongſt them in making ſlaves; which I take not to be lawful for any perſon of a good conſcience to buy."——

He then deſcribes how women betray men into ſlavery, and adds, "There are others going up into the inland country, and, thro' pretence

pretence of jurisdiction, seize men upon any trifling offence, and sell them for slaves." Page 537.

The author of this treatise, conversing with a person of good credit, was informed by him, that in his youth, while in England, he was minded to come to America, and happening on a vessel bound for Guinea, and from thence into America, he, with a view to see Africa, went on board her, and continued with them in their voyage, and so came into this country. Among other circumstances he related these. "They purchased on the coast about three hundred slaves; some of them he understood were captives of war; some stolen by other Negroes privately.—— When they had got many slaves on board, but were still on that coast, a plot was laid by an old Negroe, notwithstanding the men had irons on their hands and feet, to kill the English and take the vessel; which being discovered, the man was hanged, and many of the slaves made to shoot at him as he hung up."

"Another slave was charged with having a design to kill the English; and the captain spoke to him in relation to the charge brought against him, as he stood on deck; whereupon he immediately threw himself into the sea, and was drowned."

"Several Negroes, confined on board, were, he said, so extremely uneasy with their condition, that after many endeavours used, they could never make them eat nor drink

after

after they came in the veſſel; but in a deſperate reſolution ſtarved themſelves to death, behaving toward the laſt like mad-men."

In Randall's geography, printed 1744, we are informed, "That in a time of full peace nothing is more common than for the Negroes of one nation to ſteal thoſe of another, and ſell them to the Europeans. It is thought that the Engliſh tranſmit annually near fifty thouſand of theſe unhappy creatures; and the other European nations together, about two hundred thouſand more."

It is through the goodneſs of God that the reformation from groſs idolatry and barbarity hath been thus far effected; if we conſider our conditions as chriſtians, and the benefits we enjoy, and compare them with the condition of thoſe people, and conſider that our nation trading with them for their country produce, have had an opportunity of imparting uſeful inſtructions to them, and remember that but little pains have been taken therein, it muſt look like an indifference in us.——But when we reflect on a cuſtom the moſt ſhocking of any amongſt them, and remember that, with a view to outward gain, we have joined as parties in it; that our concurrence with them in their barbarous proceedings, has tended to harden them in cruelty, and been a means of increaſing calamities in their country, we muſt own that herein we have acted contrary to thoſe worthies whoſe lives and ſubſtance were ſpent in propagating truth and righteouſneſs amongſt

the

the heathen. When Saul, by the hand of Doeg, ſlew four ſcore prieſts at once, he had a jealouſy that one of them at leaſt was confederate with David, whom he conſidered as his enemy.——Herod ſlaying all the male children in Bethlehem of two years old and under, was an act of uncommon cruelty; but he ſuppoſed there was a male child there, within that age, who was likely to be king of the Jews, and finding no way to deſtroy him, but by deſtroying them all, thought this the moſt effectual means to ſecure the kingdom to his own family.

When the ſentence againſt the proteſtants of Marindol, &c. in France, was put in execution, great numbers of people fled to the wilderneſs; amongſt whom were ancient people, women great with child, and others with babes in their arms, who endured calamities grievous to relate, and in the end ſome periſhed with hunger, and many were deſtroyed by fire and ſword; but they had this objection againſt them, That they obſtinately perſiſted in oppoſition to holy mother church, and being hereticks, it was right to work their ruin and extirpation, and raze out their memory from among men. Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 646.

In favour of thoſe cruelties, every one had what they deemed a plea.——Theſe ſcenes of blood and cruelty among the barbarous inhabitants of Guinea, are not leſs terrible than thoſe now mentioned. They are continued from one age to another, and we make

ourſelves

ourſelves parties and fellow-helpers in them; nor do I ſee that we have any plea in our favour more plauſible than the plea of Saul, of Herod, or the French in thoſe ſlaughters.

Many who are parties in this trade, by keeping ſlaves with views of ſelf-intereſt, were they to go as ſoldiers in one of theſe inland expeditions to catch ſlaves, they muſt neceſſarily grow diſſatisfied with ſuch employ, or ceaſe to profeſs their religious principles. And though the firſt and moſt ſtriking part of the ſcene is done at a great diſtance, and by other hands, yet every one who is acquainted with the circumſtances, and notwithſtanding joins in it for the ſake of gain only, muſt, in the nature of things, be chargeable with the others.

Should we conſider ourſelves preſent as ſpectators, when cruel Negroes privately catch innocent children, who are employed in the fields; hear their lamentable cries, under the moſt terrifying apprehenſions; or ſhould we look upon it as happening in our own families, having our children carried off by ſavages, we muſt needs own, that ſuch proceedings are contrary to the nature of chriſtianity: ſhould we meditate on the wars which are greatly increaſed by this trade, and on that affliction which many thouſands live in, through apprehenſions of being taken or ſlain; on the terror and amazement that villages are in, when ſurrounded by theſe troops of enterpriſers; on the great pain and miſery of groaning dying men,

men, who get wounded in thoſe ſkirmiſhes; we ſhall neceſſarily ſee, that it is impoſſible to be parties in ſuch a trade, on the motives of gain, and retain our innocence.

Should we conſider the caſe of multitudes of thoſe people, who in a fruitful ſoil, and not climate, with a little labour, raiſe grain, roots and pulſe to eat; ſpin and weave cotton, and faſten together the large feathers of fowls, to cover their nakedneſs; many of whom, in much ſimplicity, live inoffenſively in their cottages, and take great comfort in raiſing up children.

Should we contemplate on their circumſtances, when ſuddenly attacked, and labour to underſtand their inexpreſſible anguiſh of ſoul, who ſurvive the conflict; ſhould we think on inoffenſive women, who fled at the alarm, and at their return ſaw that village, in which they and their acquaintance were raiſed up, and had pleaſantly ſpent their youthful days, now lying in a gloomy deſolation; ſome ſhocked at finding the mangled bodies of their near friends amongſt the ſlain; others bemoaning the abſence of a brother, a ſiſter, a child, or a whole family of children, who, by cruel men, are bound and carried to market, to be ſold, without the leaſt hopes of ſeeing them again: add to this, the afflicted condition of theſe poor captives, who are ſeparated from family connections, and all the comforts ariſing from friendſhip and acquaintance, carried amongſt a people of a ſtrange language, to be parted from their

fellow

fellow captives, put to labour in a manner more ſervile and wearifome than what they were uſed to, with many ſorrowful circumſtances attending their ſlavery; and we muſt neceſſarily ſee, that it belongs not to the followers of Chriſt to be parties in ſuch a trade, on the motives of outward gain.

Though there were wars and deſolation among the Negroes, before the Europeans began to trade there for ſlaves, yet now the calamities are greatly increaſed, ſo many thouſands being annually brought from thence; and we, by purchaſing them, with views of ſelf-intereſt, are become parties with them, and acceſſary to that increaſe.

In this caſe, we are not joining againſt an enemy who is fomenting diſcords on our continent, and uſing all poſſible means to make ſlaves of us and our children; but againſt a people who have not injured us.

If thoſe who were ſpoiled and wronged, ſhould at length make ſlaves of their oppreſſors, and continue ſlavery to their poſterity, it would look rigorous to candid men: but to act that part toward a people, when neither they nor their fathers have injured us, hath ſomething in it extraordinary, and requires our ſerious attention.

Our children breaking a bone; getting ſo bruiſed, that a leg or an arm muſt be taken off; loſt for a few hours, ſo that we deſpair of their being found again; a friend hurt, ſo that he dieth in a day or two; theſe move us with grief: and did we attend to theſe

ſcenes

ſcenes in Africa, in like manner as if they were tranſacted in our preſence; and ſympathiſe with the Negroes, in all their afflictions and miſeries, as we do with our children or friends: we ſhould be more careful to do nothing in any degree helping forward a trade productive of ſo many, and ſo great calamities. Great diſtance makes nothing in our favour.——To willingly join with unrighteouſneſs, to the injury of men who live ſome thouſand miles off, is the ſame in ſubſtance, as joining with it to the injury of our neighbours.

In the eye of pure juſtice, actions are regarded according to the ſpirit and diſpoſition they ariſe from: ſome evils are accounted ſcandalous, and the deſire of reputation may keep ſelfiſh men from appearing openly in them; but he who is ſhy on that account, and yet by indirect means promotes that evil, and ſhares in the profit of it, cannot be innocent.

He who, with a view to ſelf-intereſt, buys a ſlave, made ſo by violence, and only on the ſtrength of ſuch purchaſe holds him a ſlave, thereby joins hands with thoſe who committed that violence, and in the nature of things becomes chargeable with the guilt.

Suppoſe a man wants a ſlave, and being in Guinea, goes and hides by the path where boys paſs from one little town to another, and there catches one the day he expects to ſail; and taking him on board, brings him home, without any aggravating circumſtances. Sup-

poſe

poſe another buys a man, taken by them who live by plunder and the ſlave-trade: they often ſteal them privately, and often ſhed much blood in getting them. He who buys the ſlaves thus taken, pays thoſe men for their wickedneſs, and makes himſelf party with them.

Whatever nicety of diſtinction there may be, betwixt going in perſon on expeditions to catch ſlaves, and buying thoſe, with a view to ſelf-intereſt, which others have taken; it is clear and plain to an upright mind, that ſuch diſtinction is in words, not in ſubſtance; for the parties are concerned in the ſame work, and have a neceſſary connection with, and dependance on, each other; for were there none to purchaſe ſlaves, they who live by ſtealing and ſelling them, would of conſequence do leſs at it.

Some would buy a Negroe brought from Guinea, with a view to ſelf-intereſt, and keep him a ſlave, who yet would ſeem to ſcruple to take arms, and join with men employed in taking ſlaves.

Others have civil Negroes, who were born in our country, capable and likely to manage well for themſelves; whom they keep as ſlaves, without ever trying them with freedom, and take the profit of their labour as a part of their eſtates, and yet diſapprove bringing them from their own country.

If thoſe Negroes had come here, as merchants, with their ivory and gold duſt, in order

order to trade with us, and ſome powerful perſon had took their effects to himſelf, and then put them to hard labour, and ever after conſidered them as ſlaves, the action would be looked upon as unrighteous.

Thoſe Negroe merchants having children after their being among us, whoſe endowments and conduct were like other people's in common, if on their attaining to mature age, and requeſting to have their liberty, they ſhould be told they were born in ſlavery, and were lawful ſlaves, and therefore their requeſt ſhould be denied; ſuch conduct toward them, would be looked upon as unfair and oppreſſive.

In the preſent caſe, relating to home-born Negroes, whoſe underſtandings and behaviour are as good as common among other people, if we have any claim to them as ſlaves, that claim is grounded on their being the children or offſpring of ſlaves, who, in general, were made ſuch through means as unrighteous, and attended with more terrible circumſtances than the caſe laſt ſuppoſed; ſo that when we trace our claim to the bottom, theſe home-born Negroes having paid for their education, and given reaſonable ſecurity to thoſe who owned them, in caſe of their becoming chargeable, we have no more equitable right to their ſervice, than we ſhould if they were the children of honeſt merchants who came from Guinea in an Engliſh veſſel to trade with us.

If we claim any right to them as the children of ſlaves, we build on the foundation laid by them, who made ſlaves of their anceſtors; ſo that of neceſſity we muſt either juſtify the trade, or relinquiſh our right to them, as being the children of ſlaves.

Why ſhould it ſeem right to honeſt men to make advantage by theſe people more than by others? Others enjoy freedom, receive wages equal to their work, at or near ſuch time as they have diſcharged theſe equitable obligations they are under to thoſe who educated them.——Theſe have made no contract to ſerve; been no more expenſive in raiſing up than others, and many of them appear as likely to make a right uſe of freedom as other people; which way then can an honeſt man withhold from them that liberty, which is the free gift of the Moſt High to his rational creatures?

THE upright in heart cannot ſucceed the wicked in their wickedneſs; nor is it conſonant to the life they live, to hold faſt an advantage unjuſtly gained.

The Negroes who live by plunder, and the ſlave-trade, ſteal poor innocent children, invade their neighbours territories, and ſpill much blood to get theſe ſlaves: and can it be poſſible for an honeſt man to think that, with a view to ſelf-intereſt, we may continue ſlavery to the offspring of theſe unhappy ſufferers, merely becauſe they are the children of ſlaves, and not have a ſhare of this guilt?

It

It is granted by many, that the means uſed in getting them are unrighteous, and that buying them, when brought here, is wrong; yet as ſetting them free is attended with ſome difficulty, they do not comply with it; but ſeem to be of the opinion, that to give them food and raiment, and keep them ſervants, without any other wages, is the beſt way to manage them that they know of: and hoping that their children after them will not be cruel to the Negroes, conclude to leave them as ſlaves to their children.

While preſent outward intereſt is the chief object of our attention, we ſhall feel many objections in our minds againſt renouncing our claim to them, as the children of ſlaves; for being prepoſſeſſed with wrong opinions, prevents our ſeeing things clearly, which, to indifferent perſons, are eaſy to be ſeen.

Suppoſe a perſon ſeventy years paſt, in low circumſtances, bought a Negroe man and woman, and that the children of ſuch perſon are now wealthy, and have the children of ſuch ſlaves. Admit that the firſt Negroe man and his wife did as much buſineſs as their maſter and miſtreſs, and that the children of the ſlaves have done ſome more than their young maſters: ſuppoſe, on the whole, that the expence of living has been leſs on the Negroes ſide, than on the other (all which are no improbable ſuppoſitions) it follows, that in equity theſe Negroes have a right to a part of this increaſe; that ſhould ſome difficulties ariſe on their being ſet free, there is

reaſon for us patiently to labour through them.

As the conduct of men varies, relating to civil ſociety; ſo different treatment is juſtly due to them. Indiſcreet men occaſion trouble in the world; and it remains to be the care of ſuch, who ſeek the good of mankind, to admoniſh as they find occaſion.

The ſlothfulneſs of ſome of them, in providing for themſelves and families, it is likely, would require the notice of their neighbours; nor is it unlikely that ſome would, with juſtice, be made ſervants, and others puniſhed for their crimes. Pure juſtice points out to each individual their due; but to deny a people the privilege of human creatures, on a ſuppoſition that, being free, many of them would be troubleſome to us, is to mix the condition of good and bad men together, and treat the whole as the worſt of them deſerve.

If we ſeriouſly conſider, that liberty is the right of innocent men; that the mighty God is a refuge for the oppreſſed; that in reality we are indebted to them; that they being ſet free, are ſtill liable to the penalties of our laws, and as likely to have puniſhment for their crimes as other people: this may anſwer all our objections. And to retain them in perpetual ſervitude, without juſt cauſe for it, will produce effects, in the event, more grievous than ſetting them free would do, when a real love to truth and equity was the motive to it.

Our

Our authority over them ſtands originally in a purchaſe made from thoſe who, as to the general, obtained theirs by unrighteouſneſs. Whenever we have recourſe to ſuch authority, it tends more or leſs to obſtruct the channels, through which the perfect plant in us receives nouriſhment.

There is a principle, which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is, however, pure, and proceeds from God.—It is deep, and inward, confined to no forms of religon, nor excluded from any, where the heart ſtands in perfect ſincerity. In whomſoever this takes root, and grows, of what nation ſoever, they become brethren, in the beſt ſenſe of the expreſſion. Uſing ourſelves to take ways which appear moſt eaſy to us, when inconſiſtent with that purity which is without beginning, we thereby ſet up a government of our own, and deny obedience to him, whoſe ſervice is true liberty.

He that hath a ſervant, made ſo wrongfully, and knows it to be ſo, when he treats him otherwiſe than a free man, when he reaps the benefit of his labour, without paying him ſuch wages as are reaſonably due to free men for the like ſervice, cloaths excepted; theſe things, tho' done in calmneſs, without any ſhew of diſorder, do yet deprave the mind in like manner, and with as great certainty, as prevailing cold congeals water. Theſe ſteps taken by maſters, and their conduct ſtriking the minds of their children,

whilſt

whilſt young, leave leſs room for that which is good to work upon them. The cuſtoms of their parents, their neighbours, and the people with whom they converſe, working upon their minds; and they, from thence, conceiving ideas of things, and modes of conduct, the entrance into their hearts becomes, in a great meaſure, ſhut up againſt the gentle movings of uncreated purity.

From one age to another, the gloom grows thicker and darker, till error gets eſtabliſhed by general opinion; that whoever attends to perfect goodneſs, and remains under the melting influence of it, finds a path unknown to many, and ſees the neceſſity to lean upon the arm of divine ſtrength, and dwell alone, or with a few, in the right committing their cauſe to him, who is a refuge for his people, in all their troubles.

Where, through the agreement of a multitude, ſome channels of juſtice are ſtopped, and men may ſupport their characters as juſt men, by being juſt to a party, there is great danger of contracting an alliance with that ſpirit, which ſtands in oppoſition to the God of love, and ſpreads diſcord, trouble, and vexation among ſuch who give up to the influence of it.

Negroes are our fellow creatures, and their preſent condition amongſt us requires our ſerious conſideration. We know not the time when thoſe ſcales, in which mountains are weighed, may turn. The Parent of mankind is gracious: his care is over his

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ſmalleſt creatures; and a multitude of men eſcape not his notice: And though many of them are trodden down, and deſpiſed, yet he remembers them: he ſeeth their affliction, and looketh upon the ſpreading increaſing exaltation of the oppreſſor. He turns the channels of power, humbles the moſt haughty people, and gives deliverance to the oppreſſed, at ſuch periods as are conſiſtent with his infinite juſtice and goodneſs. And wherever gain is preferred to equity, and wrong things publickly encouraged to that degree, that wickedneſs takes root, and ſpreads wide amongſt the inhabitants of a country, there is real cauſe for ſorrow to all ſuch, whoſe love to mankind ſtands on a true principle, and who wiſely conſider the end and event of things.

FINIS.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON

PURE WISDOM, AND HUMAN POLICY;

ON

LABOUR;

ON

SCHOOLS;

And on the RIGHT USE of the

LORD's OUTWARD GIFTS.

First printed in the year 1768.

JAMES iii. 17.

The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy, and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.

INTRODUCTION.

MY mind hath often been affected with sorrow, on account of the prevailing of that spirit, which leads from an humble waiting on the inward teaching of Christ, to pursue ways of living, attended with unnecessary labour, and which draws forth the minds of many people

ple to seek after outward power, and to strive for riches, which frequently introduce oppression, and bring forth wars and grievous calamities.

It is with reverence that I acknowledge the mercies of our heavenly Father, who, in infinite love, did visit me in my youth, and wrought a belief in me, that through true obedience a state of inward purity may be known in this life, in which we may love mankind in the same love with which our Redeemer loveth us, and therein learn resignation to endure hardships, for the real good of others.

"*While the eye is single, the whole body is* "*full of light,*" Mat. vi. 22. *but for want of this, selfish desires, and an imaginary superiority, darken the mind; hence injustice frequently proceeds; and where this is the case, to convince the judgment, is the most effectual remedy.*

Where violent measures are pursued in opposing injustice, the passions, and resentments of the injured, frequently operate in the prosecution of their designs; and after conflicts productive of very great calamities, the minds of contending parties often remain as little acquainted with the pure principle of divine love, as they were before; but where people walk in that pure light in which all their "*works are wrought* "*in God,*" John iii. 21, *and under oppression persevere in the meek spirit, and abide firm in the cause of truth, without actively complying with oppressive demands, through those the Lord hath often manifested his power, in opening the understandings of others, to the promoting righteousness in the earth.*

A time,

A time, I believe, is coming, wherein this divine work will ſo ſpread and prevail, that "*Nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation,* "*nor learn war any more,*" Iſaiah ii. 4. *And as we, through the tender mercies of God, do feel that this precious work is begun, I am concerned to encourage my brethren and ſiſters in a holy care and diligence, that each of us may ſo live, under the ſanctifying power of truth, as to be redeemed from all unneceſſary cares; that our eye being ſingle to him, no cuſtoms, however prevalent, which are contrary to the wiſdom from above, may hinder us from faithfully following his holy leadings, in whatſoever he may graciouſly appoint for us.*

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS
ON
PURE WISDOM,
AND
HUMAN POLICY.

TO have our truſt ſettled in the Lord, and not to ſeek after, nor deſire outward treaſures, any further than his holy ſpirit leads us therein, is a happy ſtate, as ſaith the prophet, "Bleſſed is the man "that truſteth in the Lord, and whoſe hope "the Lord is."

Pure wiſdom leads people into lowlineſs of mind, in which they learn reſignation to the divine will, and contentment in ſuffering for his cauſe, when they cannot keep a clear conſcience without ſuffering.

In this pure wiſdom the mind is attentive to the root, and original ſpring of motions and deſires; and as we know "the Lord to "be our refuge," and find no ſafety, but in humbly walking before him; we feel an holy engagement, that every deſire which leads therefrom may be brought to judgment.

While we proceed in this precious way, and find ardent longings for a full deliverance from

from every thing which defiles, all profpects of gain, that are not confiftent with the wifdom from above, are confidered as fnares, and an inward concern is felt, that we may live under the crofs, and faithfully attend to that holy fpirit, which is fufficient to preferve out of them.

When I have confidered that faying of Chrift, Mat. vi. 19, " Lay not up for your-" felves treafures upon earth," his omnipotence hath often occurred to my mind.

While we believe that he is every where prefent with his people, and that perfect goodnefs, wifdom and power, are united in him, how comfortable is the conflideration.

Our wants may be great, but his power is greater. We may be oppreffed and defpifed, but he is able to turn our patient fufferings into profit to ourfelves, and to the advancement of his work on earth. His people, who feel the power of his crofs, to crucify all that is felfifh in them, who are engaged in outward concerns, from a conyincement that it is their duty, and refign themfelves, and their treafures, to him; thefe feel that it is dangerous to give way to that in us, which craves riches and greatnefs in this world.

As the heart truly contrite, earneftly defires " to know Chrift, and the fellowfhip " of his fufferings," Phil. iii. 10, fo far as the Lord for gracious ends may lead into them; as fuch feel that it is their intereft to put their truft in God, and to feek no gain

but

but that which he, by his holy ſpirit, leads into; ſo, on the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this divine teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their meaſure, "to fill up that which is behind of "the afflictions of Chriſt," Col. i. 24, in patiently ſuffering for the promoting righteouſneſs in the earth; but have an eye toward the power of men, and the outward advantage of wealth, theſe are often attentive to thoſe employments which appear profitable, even though the gains ariſe from ſuch trade and buſineſs which proceeds from the workings of that ſpirit, which is eſtranged from the ſelf-denying life of an humble contrite chriſtian.

While I write on this ſubject, I feel my mind tenderly affected toward thoſe honeſtly diſpoſed people, who have been brought up in employments attended with thoſe difficulties.

To ſuch I may ſay, in the feeling of our heavenly Father's love, and number myſelf with you, O that our eyes may be ſingle to the Lord! may we reverently wait on him for ſtrength, to lay aſide all unneceſſary expence of every kind, and learn contentment, in a plain ſimple life.

May we, in lowlineſs, ſubmit to the leadings of his ſpirit, and enter upon any outward employ which he graciouſly points out to us, and then whatever difficulties ariſe, in conſequence of our faithfulneſs, I truſt they will work for our good.

Small

Small treaſure to a reſigned mind is ſufficient. How happy is it to be content with a little, to live in humility, and feel that in us, which breathes out this language, Abba! Father.

If that, called the wiſdom of this world, had no reſemblance of true wiſdom, the name of wiſdom, I ſuppoſe, had not been given to it.

As waſting outward ſubſtance, to gratify vain deſires, on one hand; ſo ſlothfulneſs and neglect, on the other, do often involve men and their families in trouble, and reduce them to want and diſtreſs; to ſhun both theſe oppoſite vices, is good in itſelf, and hath a reſemblance of wiſdom; but while people thus provident, have it principally in view to get riches, and power, and the friendſhip of this world, and do not humbly wait for the ſpirit of truth to lead them in purity; theſe, through an anxious care to obtain the end deſired, reach forth for gain in worldly wiſdom, and, in regard to their inward ſtate, fall into divers temptations and ſnares. And though ſuch may think of applying wealth to good purpoſes, and to uſe their power to prevent oppreſſion, yet wealth and power is often applied otherwiſe; nor can we depart from the leadings of our holy ſhepherd, without going into confuſion.

Great wealth is frequently attended with power, which nothing but divine love can qualify the mind to uſe rightly; and as to the humility, and uprightneſs of our children

dren after us, how great is the uncertainty! If, in acquiring wealth, we take hold on the wiſdom which is from beneath, and depart from the leadings of truth, and example our children herein, we have great cauſe to apprehend, that wealth may be a ſnare to them; and prove an injury to others, over whom their wealth may give them power.

To be redeemed from that wiſdom which is from beneath, and walk in the light of the Lord, is a precious ſituation; thus his people are brought to put their truſt in him; and in this humble confidence in his wiſdom, goodneſs and power, the righteous find a refuge in adverſities, ſuperior to the greateſt outward helps, and a comfort more certain than any worldly advantages can afford.

ON LABOUR.

HAVING from my childhood been uſed to bodily labour for a living, I may expreſs my experience therein.

Right exerciſe affords an innocent pleaſure in the time of it, and prepares us to enjoy the ſweetneſs of reſt; but from the extremes each way, ariſe inconveniences.

Moderate exerciſe opens the pores, gives the blood a lively circulation, and the better enables us to judge rightly reſpecting that portion of labour which is the true medium.

" The

" The fowls of the air ſow not, nor gather " into barns, yet our heavenly Father feed- " eth them," Mat. vi. 26; nor do I believe that infinite goodneſs and power would have allotted labour to us, had he not ſeen that labour was proper for us in this life.

The original deſign, and true medium of labour, is a ſubject, that, to me, appears worthy of our ſerious conſideration.

Idle men are often a burden to themſelves, neglect the duty they owe to their families, and become burdenſome to others alſo.

As outward labour, directed by the wiſdom from above, tends to our health, and adds to our happineſs in this life; ſo, on the contrary, entering upon it in a ſelfiſh ſpirit, and purſuing it too long, or too hard, hath a contrary effect.

I have obſerved, that too much labour not only makes the underſtanding dull, but ſo intrudes upon the harmony of the body, that after ceaſing from our toil, we have another to paſs through, before we can be ſo compoſed as to enjoy the ſweetneſs of reſt.

From too much labour in the heat, frequently proceeds immoderate ſweats, which do often, I believe, open the way for diſorders, and impair our conſtitutions.

When we go beyond the true medium, and feel wearineſs approaching, but think buſineſs may ſuffer if we ceaſe, at ſuch a time ſpirituous liquors are frequently taken, with a view to ſupport nature under theſe fatigues.

I have

I have found that too much labour in the ſummer heats the blood, that taking ſtrong drink to ſupport the body under ſuch labour, increaſeth that heat, and though a perſon may be ſo far temperate as not to manifeſt the leaſt diſorder, yet the mind, in ſuch a circumſtance, doth not retain that calmneſs and ſerenity, which we ſhould endeavour to live in.

Thus toiling in the heat, and drinking ſtrong liquor, makes men more reſolute, and leſs conſiderate, and tends very much to diſqualify from ſucceſsfully following him who is meek and low of heart.

As laying out buſineſs, more than is conſiſtent with pure wiſdom, is an evil, ſo this evil frequently leads into more. Too much buſineſs leads to hurry. In the hurry and toil too much ſtrong drink is often uſed, and hereby many proceed to noiſe and wantonneſs, and ſome, tho' more conſiderate, do often ſuffer loſs, as to a true compoſedneſs of mind.

I feel ſincere deſires in my heart that no rent, nor intereſt, might be laid ſo high as to be a ſnare to tenants. That no deſires of gain may draw any too far in buſineſs. That no cares to ſupport cuſtoms, which have not their foundation in pure wiſdom, may have place in our minds, but that we may build on the ſure foundation, and feel our holy ſhepherd to lead us, who alone is able to preſerve us, and bring forth from every thing which defiles.

Having ſeveral times, in my travels, had opportunity to obſerve the labour and manner of life of great numbers of ſlaves, it appears to me that the true medium is lamentably neglected by many, who aſſign them their portion of labour.

Without ſaying much at this time, concerning buying and ſelling men for term of life, who have as juſt a right to liberty as we have; nor about the great miſeries, and effuſion of blood, conſequent to promoting the ſlave-trade; and to ſpeak as favourably as may be, with regard to continuing thoſe in bondage who are amongſt us, we cannot ſay there is no partiality in it: for whatever tenderneſs may be manifeſted by individuals in their life time toward them, yet for people to be tranſmitted from a man to his poſterity, in the helpleſs condition of ſlaves, appears inconſiſtent with the nature of the goſpel ſpirit. From ſuch proceedings it often follows, that perſons in the decline of life, are deprived of monies equitably due to them, and committed to the care, and ſubjected to the abſolute power of young unexperienced men, who know but little about the weakneſs of old age, nor underſtand the language of declining life.

Where parents give their eſtates to their children, and then depend on them for a maintenance, they ſometimes meet with great inconveniences; but if the power of poſſeſſion, thus obtained, doth often reverſe the obligations of gratitude and filial duty, and

makes

makes manifeſt, that youth are often ignorant of the language of old age, how hard is the caſe of antient Negroes, who, deprived of the wages equitably due to them, are left to young people, who have been uſed to look upon them as their inferiors.

For men to behold the fruits of their labour withheld from them, and poſſeſſed by others, and in old age find themſelves deſtitute of thoſe comfortable accommodations, and that tender regard which their time of life requires:

When they feel pains, and ſtiffneſs in their joints and limbs, weakneſs of appetite, and that a little labour is wearifome, and ſtill behold themſelves in the neglected uncomfortable condition of a ſlave, and oftentimes to a young unſympathiſing man:

For men to be thus treated from one generation to another, who, beſides their own diſtreſſes, think on the ſlavery entailed on their poſterity, and are grieved! what diſagreeable thoughts muſt they have of the profeſſed followers of Jeſus! and how muſt their groans aſcend to that almighty being, who "will be a refuge for the oppreſſed," Pſalm ix. 9.

ON SCHOOLS.

Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God, Mark. x. 14.

TO encourage children to do things with a view to get praise of men, to me appears an obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the spirit of truth. For it is the work of the Holy Spirit to direct the mind to God, that in all our proceedings we may have a single eye to him. To give alms in secret, to fast in secret, and labour to keep clear of that disposition reproved by our Saviour, " But all their works they do " for to be seen of men." Matt. xxiii. 5.

That divine light which enlightens all men, I believe, does often shine in the minds of children very early, and to humbly wait for wisdom, that our conduct toward them may tend to forward their acquaintance with it, and strengthen them in obedience thereto, appears to me to be a duty on all of us.

By cherishing the spirit of pride, and the love of praise in them, I believe they may sometimes improve faster in learning, than otherwise they would, but to take measures to forward children in learning, which naturally tend to divert their minds from true humility, appears to me to savour of the wisdom of this world.

If

If tutors are not acquainted with ſanctification of ſpirit, nor experienced in an humble waiting for the leadings of truth, but follow the maxims of the wiſdom of this world, ſuch children who are under their tuition, appear to me to be in danger of imbibing thoughts, and apprehenſions, reverſe to that meekneſs, and lowlineſs of heart, which is neceſſary for all the true followers of Chriſt.

Children at an age fit for ſchools, are in a time of life which requires the patient attention of pious people, and if we commit them to the tuition of ſuch, whoſe minds we believe are not rightly prepared to "train them "up in the nurture and admonition of the "Lord," we are in danger of not acting the part of faithful parents toward them; for our heavenly father doth not require us to do evil, that good may come of it; and it is needful that we deeply examine ourſelves, leſt we get entangled in the wiſdom of this world, and, through wrong apprehenſions, take ſuch methods in education, as may prove a great injury to the minds of our children.

It is a lovely ſight to behold innocent children! and when they are ſent to ſuch ſchools where their tender minds are in imminent danger of being led aſtray by tutors, who do not live a ſelf-denying life, or by the converſation of ſuch children who do not live in innocence, it is a caſe much to be lamented.

While

While a pious tutor hath the charge of no more children than he can take due care of, and keeps his authority in the truth, the good ſpirit in which he leads and governs, works on the minds of ſuch who are not hardened, and his labours not only tend to bring them forward in outward learning, but to open their underſtandings with reſpect to the true chriſtian life; but where a perſon hath charge of too many, and his thoughts and time are ſo much employed in the outward affairs of his ſchool, that he does not ſo weightily attend to the ſpirit and conduct of each individual, as to be enabled to adminiſter rightly to all in due ſeaſon; through ſuch omiſſion he not only ſuffers, as to the ſtate of his own mind, but the minds of the children are in danger of ſuffering alſo.

To watch the ſpirit of children, to nurture them in goſpel love, and labour to help them againſt that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them; and a faithful performance of our duty, not only tends to their laſting benefit, and our own peace, but alſo to render their company agreeable to us.

Inſtruction, thus adminiſtered, reaches the pure witneſs in the minds of ſuch children who are not hardened, and begets love in them toward thoſe who thus lead them on; but where too great a number are committed to a tutor, and he, through much cumber, omits a careful attention to the minds of children,

dren, there is danger of diſorders gradually increaſing amongſt them, till the effects thereof appear in their conduct, too ſtrong to be eaſily remedied.

A care hath lived on my mind, that more time might be employed by parents at home, and by tutors at ſchool, in weightily attending to the ſpirit and inclinations of children, and that we may ſo lead, inſtruct, and govern them, in this tender part of life, that nothing may be omitted in our power, to help them on their way to become the children of our father, who is in heaven.

Meditating on the ſituation of ſchools in our provinces, my mind hath, at times, been affected with ſorrow, and under theſe exerciſes it hath appeared to me, that if thoſe who have large eſtates, were faithful ſtewards, and laid no rent, nor intereſt, nor other demand, higher than is conſiſtent with univerſal love; and thoſe in lower circumſtances would, under a moderate employ, ſhun unneceſſary expence, even to the ſmalleſt article; and all unite in humbly ſeeking to the Lord, he would graciouſly inſtruct us, and ſtrengthen us, to relieve the youth from various ſnares, in which many of them are entangled.

On the RIGHT USE of the LORD's OUTWARD GIFTS.

AS our underſtandings are opened by the pure light, we experience that, through an inward approaching to God, the mind is ſtrengthened in obedience; and that by gratifying thoſe deſires which are not of his begetting, thoſe approaches to him are obſtructed, and the deceivable ſpirit gains ſtrength.

Theſe truths, being as it were engraven upon our hearts, and our everlaſting intereſt in Chriſt evidently concerned herein, we become fervently engaged, that nothing may be nouriſhed which tends to feed pride or ſelf-love in us. Thus in pure obedience, we are not only inſtructed in our duty to God, but alſo in the affairs which neceſſarily relate to this life, and the ſpirit of truth which guides into all truth, leavens the mind with a pious concern, that "whatſoever we do in "word or deed, may be done in his name," Col. iii. 17.

Hence ſuch buildings, furniture, food, and raiment, as beſt anſwer our neceſſities, and are the leaſt likely to feed that ſelfiſh ſpirit which is our enemy, are the moſt acceptable to us.

In this ſtate the mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the love of gain draw us not into any buſineſs, which may weaken our love to our heavenly father, or bring unneceſſary trouble to any of his creatures.

Thus

Thus the way gradually opens to ceaſe from that ſpirit which craves riches and things fetched far, which ſo mixeth with the cuſtoms of this world, and ſo intrudes upon the true harmony of life, that the right medium of labour is very much departed from. And as the minds of people are ſettled in a ſteady concern, not to hold nor poſſeſs any thing but what may be held conſiſtent with the wiſdom from above, they conſider what they poſſeſs as the gift of God, and are inwardly exerciſed, that in all parts of their conduct they may act agreeable to the nature of the peaceable government of Chriſt.

A little ſupports ſuch a life; and in a ſtate truly reſigned to the Lord, the eye is ſingle, to ſee what outward employ he leads into, as a means of our ſubſiſtence, and a lively care is maintained to hold to that without launching further.

There is a harmony in the ſeveral parts of this divine work in the hearts of people; he who leads them to ceaſe from thoſe gainful employments, carried on in that wiſdom which is from beneath, delivers alſo from the deſire after worldly greatneſs, and reconciles the mind to a life ſo plain, that a little doth ſuffice.

Here the real comforts of life are not leſſened. Moderate exerciſe, in the way of true wiſdom, is pleaſant both to mind and body.

Food and raiment ſufficient, though in the greateſt ſimplicity, is accepted with content and gratitude.

The

The mutual love, ſubſiſting between the faithful followers of Chriſt, is more pure than that friendſhip which is not ſeaſoned with humility, how ſpecious ſoever the appearance.

Where people depart from pure wiſdom in one caſe, it is often an introduction to depart from it in many more; and thus a ſpirit which ſeeks for outward greatneſs, and leads into worldly wiſdom to attain it, and ſupport it, gets poſſeſſion of the mind.

In beholding the cuſtomary departure from the true medium of labour, and that unneceſſary toil which many go through, in ſupporting outward greatneſs, and procuring delicacies:

In beholding how the true calmneſs of life is changed into hurry, and that many, by eagerly purſuing outward treaſure, are in great danger of withering as to the inward ſtate of the mind:

In meditating on the works of this ſpirit, and on the deſolations it makes amongſt the profeſſors of chriſtianity, I may thankfully acknowledge, that I often feel pure love beget longings in my heart, for the exaltation of the peaceable kingdom of Chriſt, and an engagement to labour according to the gift beſtowed on me, for the promoting an humble, plain, temperate way of living: a life where no unneceſſary cares, nor expences, may encumber our minds, nor leſſen our ability to do good; where no deſires after riches, or greatneſs, may lead into hard dealing;

ing; where no connections with wordly minded men, may abate our love to God, nor weaken a true zeal for righteouſneſs: a life, wherein we may diligently labour for reſignedneſs to do, and ſuffer, whatever our heavenly father may allot for us, in reconciling the world to himſelf.

When the prophet Iſaiah had uttered his viſion, and declared that a time was coming wherein "ſwords ſhould be beat into plow-"ſhares, and ſpears into pruning hooks, and "that nation ſhould not lift up ſword againſt "nation, nor learn war any more;" he immediately directs the minds of people to the divine teacher, in this remarkable language, "O houſe of Jacob, come ye and let us walk "in the light of the Lord," Iſaiah ii. 5.

To wait for the direction of this light, in all temporal as well as ſpiritual concerns, appears neceſſary; for if in any caſe we enter lightly into temporal affairs, without feeling this ſpirit of truth to open our way therein, and through the love of this world proceed on, and ſeek for gain by that buſineſs or traffic, which "is not of the father, but of "the world," 1 John ii. 16, we fail in our teſtimony to the purity and peace of his government; and get into that which is for chaſtiſement.

This matter hath lain heavy on my mind, it being evident, that a life leſs humble, leſs ſimple and plain, than that which Chriſt leads his ſheep into, does neceſſarily require a ſupport, which pure wiſdom does not provide

vide for; hence there is no probability of our being "a peculiar people, ſo zealous of good "works, as to have no fellowſhip with works "of darkneſs," Titus ii. 14. Epheſ. v. 11, while we have wants to ſupply which have their foundation in cuſtom, and do not come within the meaning of thoſe expreſſions, "your heavenly father knoweth that ye have "need of all theſe things," Matt. vi. 32.

Theſe things which he beholds neceſſary for his people, he fails not to give them in his own way, and time; but as his ways are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts, ſo imaginary wants are different "from theſe things which he knoweth that "we have need of."

As my meditations have been on theſe things, compaſſion hath filled my heart toward my fellow creatures, involved in cuſtoms, grown up in "the wiſdom of this "world, which is fooliſhneſs with God," 1 Cor. iii. 19; and O that the youth may be ſo thoroughly experienced in an humble walking before the Lord, that they may be his children, and know him to be their refuge, their ſafe unfailing refuge! through the various dangers attending this uncertain ſtate of being.

If thoſe whoſe minds are redeemed from the love of wealth, and who are content with a plain, ſimple way of living, do yet find that to conduct the affairs of a family, without giving countenance to unrighteous proceed-

ings

ings, or having fellowſhip with works of darkneſs, the moſt diligent care is neceſſary:

If cuſtoms, diſtinguiſhable from univerſal righteouſneſs, and oppoſite to the true ſelf-denying life, are now prevalent, and ſo mixed with trade, and with almoſt every employ, that it is only through humble waiting on the inward guidance of truth, that we may reaſonably hope to walk ſafely, and ſupport an uniform teſtimony to the peaceable government of Chriſt:

If this be the caſe, how lamentably do they expoſe themſelves to temptations, who give way to the love of riches, conform to expenſive living, and reach forth for gain, to ſupport cuſtoms, which our holy ſhepherd leads not into.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

TRUE HARMONY

OF

MANKIND;

AND HOW IT IS TO BE MAINTAINED.

First printed in the year 1770.

MICAH v. 7.

And the remnant of Jacob ſhall be in the midſt of many people, as a dew from the Lord, as the ſhowers upon the graſs, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the ſons of men.

INTRODUCTION.

AS mankind from one parent are divided into many families, and as trading to ſea is greatly increaſed within a few ages paſt; amidſt this

this extended commerce, how neceſſary is it that the profeſſed followers of Chriſt keep ſacred his holy name, and be employed about trade and traffic no farther than juſtice and equity evidently accompanies? that we may give no juſt cauſe of offence to any, however diſtant, or unable to plead their own cauſe; and may continually keep in view, the ſpreading of the true and ſaving knowledge of God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, amongſt our fellow creatures, which through his infinite love, ſome feel to be more precious than any other treaſure.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
TRUE HARMONY
OF
MANKIND;
AND HOW IT IS TO BE MAINTAINED.

CHAP. I.

On ſerving the Lord in our outward employments.

UNDER the humbling diſpenſations of the Father of mercies, I have felt an inward labour for the good of my fellow creatures, and a concern that the holy ſpirit, which alone can reſtore mankind to a ſtate of true harmony, may with ſingleneſs of heart be waited for and followed.

I truſt there are many under that viſitation, which, if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of underſtanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify with firmneſs to be true patterns of the chriſtian life, who in living and walking may hold forth an invitation to others, to come out of the entanglements of the ſpirit of this world. And

And that which I feel firſt to expreſs is, a care for thoſe who are in circumſtances, which appear difficult, with reſpect to ſupporting their families in a way anſwerable to pure wiſdom, that they may not be diſcouraged, but remember that in humbly obeying the leading of Chriſt, he owneth us as his friends, "Ye are my friends if ye do "whatſoever I command you;" and to be a friend to Chriſt, is to be united to him, who hath all power in heaven and in earth; and tho' a woman may forget her ſucking child, yet will he not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities hath often affected me with a brotherly ſympathy, attended with a deſire that reſignation may be laboured for; and where the holy leader directeth to a country life or ſome change of employ, he may be faithfully followed; for under the refining hand of the Lord I have ſeen, that the inhabitants of ſome cities are greatly increaſed through ſome branches of buſineſs which his holy ſpirit doth not lead into, and that being entangled in theſe things, tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people convinced of the leadings of this holy leader, and obſtructs the coming of the kingdom of Chriſt on earth as it is in heaven.

Now if we indulge a deſire to imitate our neighbours in thoſe things which harmoniſe not with the true chriſtian walking, theſe entanglements may hold faſt to us, and ſome,

who in an awakening time, feel tender ſcruples, with reſpect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, who yet may not be refined from every degree of droſs; and by looking on theſe examples, and deſiring to ſupport their families in a way pleaſant to the natural mind, there may be danger of the worldly wiſdom gaining ſtrength in them, and of their departure from that pure feeling of truth, which if faithfully attended to, would teach contentment in the divine will, even in a very low eſtate.

One formerly ſpeaking on the profitableneſs of true humility, ſaith, "He that troubles not himſelf with anxious thoughts for more than is neceſſary, lives little leſs than the life of angels, whilſt by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing." Cave's primitive chriſtianity, page 31.

"It is not enough, ſays Tertullian, that a chriſtian be chaſte and modeſt, but he muſt appear to be ſo: a virtue of which he ſhould have ſo great a ſtore, that it ſhould flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conſcience, into the ſuperficies of his life." Same book, page 43.

"The garments we wear, ſays Clemens, ought to be mean and frugal—that is true ſimplicity of habit, which takes away what is vain and ſuperfluous; that the beſt and moſt ſolid garment, which is the fartheſt from curioſity." Page 49.

Though

Though the change from day to night, is by a motion ſo gradual as ſcarcely to be perceived, yet when night is come we behold it very different from the day; and thus as people become wiſe in their own eyes, and prudent in their own ſight, cuſtoms riſe up from the ſpirit of this world, and ſpread by little and little, till a departure from the ſimplicity that there is in Chriſt, becomes as diſtinguiſhable as light from darkneſs, to ſuch who are crucified to the world.

Our holy ſhepherd, to encourage his flock in firmneſs and perſeverance, reminds them of his love for them, "As the father hath "loved me, ſo have I loved you; continue ye "in my love;" and in another place graciouſly points out the danger of departing therefrom, by going into unſuitable employments; this he repreſents in the ſimilitude of offence from that uſeful active member, the hand; and to fix the inſtruction the deeper, names the right hand, "If thy right hand offend "thee cut it off and caſt it from thee"—If thou feeleſt offence in thy employment, humbly follow him who leads into all truth, and is a ſtrong and faithful friend to thoſe who are reſigned to him.

Again, he points out thoſe things which appearing pleaſant to the natural mind, are not beſt for us, in the ſimilitude of offence from the eye, "If thy right eye offend thee "pluck it out, and caſt it from thee." To pluck out the eye, or cut off the hand, is attended with ſharp pain; and how precious is

the inſtruction which our redeemer thus opens to us, that we may not faint under the moſt painful trials, but put our truſt in him, even in him who ſent an angel to feed Elijah in the wilderneſs; who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves, and is now as attentive to the wants of his people as ever.

The prophet Iſaiah, repreſents the unrighteous doings of the Iſraelites toward the poor, as the fruits of an effeminate life, "As "for my people, children are their oppreſ- "ſors, and women rule over them; what "mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, "and grind the faces of the poor, ſaith the "Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtineſs of the daughters of Sion, and enumerates many ornaments, as inſtances of their vanity, to uphold which, the poor were ſo hardly dealt with, that he ſets forth their poverty, their leanneſs and inability to help themſelves, in the ſimilitude of a man maimed by violence or "beaten to pieces," and forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away in the manner of grinding.

And I may here add, that at times, when I have felt true love open my heart towards my fellow creatures, and been engaged in weighty converſation in the cauſe of righteouſneſs, the inſtructions I have received under theſe exerciſes, in regard to the true uſe of the outward gifts of God, have made deep and laſting impreſſions on my mind.

I have

I have here beheld, how the deſire to provide wealth, and to uphold a delicate life hath grievouſly entangled many, and been like ſnares to their offſpring; and though ſome have been affected with a ſenſe of their difficulties, and appeared deſirous, at times, to be helped out of them; yet for want of abiding under the humbling power of truth, they have continued in theſe entanglements; for in remaining conformable to this world, and giving way to a delicate life, this expenſive way of living, in parents and in children, hath called for a large ſupply, and in anſwering this call "the faces of the poor" have been ground away, and made thin thro' hard dealing.

There is balm, there is a phyſician! and O what longings do I feel! that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing, know that removed which now miniſters cauſe for the cries of many people to aſcend to heaven againſt their oppreſſors, and that we may ſee the true harmony reſtored.

Behold "how good and how pleaſant it is, "for brethren to dwell together in unity." The nature of this unity is thus opened by the apoſtle, "If we walk in the light, as "Chriſt is in the light, we ſhall have fel-"lowſhip one with another, and the blood "of Chriſt will cleanſe us from all ſin."

The land may be polluted with innocent blood, which like the blood of Abel may cry to the Almighty; but thoſe who "walk in "the light as Chriſt is in the light," they know

know the "lamb of God, who taketh away "sin."

Walking is a phraſe frequently uſed in ſcripture, to repreſent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and tranſactions properly relating to our being in this world.

Chriſt being the light, dwells always in the light, and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and concern we faithfully follow this divine leader; he preſerves from giving juſt cauſe for any to quarrel with us; and where this foundation is laid and mutually kept to, by families converſant with each other, the way is open for theſe comforts in ſociety, which our heavenly father intends as a part of our happineſs in this world; and then we may experience the goodneſs, and pleaſantneſs of dwelling together in unity; but where ways of living take place, which tend to oppreſſion, and in the purſuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themſelves, either in exerciſing an abſolute power over them, or otherwiſe laying on them unequitable burdens; here a fear leſt that meaſure ſhould be meeted to them, which they have meaſured to others, incites a care to ſupport that by craft and cunning devices which ſtands not on the firm foundation of righteouſneſs: thus the harmony of ſociety is broken, and from hence commotions and wars do frequently ariſe in the world.

"Come

"Come out of Babylon my people, that "ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye "receive not of her plagues." Rev. xv. 3, 4. This Babel, or Babylon, was built in the ſpirit of ſelf-exaltation: "Let us build us a "city and a tower, whoſe top may reach to "heaven, and let us make us a name." Gen. xi. 4. In departing from an humble truſt in God, and following a ſelfiſh ſpirit, people have intentions to get the upperhand of their fellow creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, have a language in their hearts which is hard to underſtand. In Babel the language is confounded.

This city is repreſented as a place of buſineſs and thoſe employed in it, as merchants of the earth: "The merchants of the earth "are waxed rich through the abundance of "her delicacies." Rev. xviii. 3.

And it is remarkable in this call, that the language from the father of mercies is, my people, "Come out of Babylon my people!" Thus his tender mercies are toward us in an imperfect ſtate; and as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteouſneſs is more and more opened; cravings, which have not their foundation in pure wiſdom, more and more ceaſe; and in an inward purity of heart, we experience a reſtoration of that which was loſt at Babel, repreſented by the inſpired prophet in the "returning of a pure "language." Zeph. iii. 9.

Happy for them who humbly attend to the call, "Come out of Babylon my people."

For

For though in going forth we may meet with trials, which for a time may be painful, yet as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wiſe; and that in weaning us from all that is ſelfiſh, he prepares the way to a quiet habitation where all our deſires are bounded by his wiſdom. And an exerciſe of ſpirit attends me, that we who are convinced of the pure leadings of truth, may bow in the deepeſt reverence, and ſo watchfully regard this leader, that many who are grievouſly entangled in a wilderneſs of vain cuſtoms, may look upon us, and be inſtructed. And O that ſuch who have plenty of this world's goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entruſted! and example others in the true chriſtian walking.

Our bleſſed Saviour, ſpeaking on worldly greatneſs, compares himſelf to one waiting and attending on a company at dinner: "Whether is greater, he that ſitteth at meat "or he that ſerveth? Is not he that ſitteth "at meat? but I am amongſt you as he that "ſerveth." Luke xxii. 27.

Thus in a world greatly diſordered, where men aſpiring to outward greatneſs were wont to oppreſs others to ſupport their deſigns, he who was of the higheſt deſcent, being the Son of God, and greater than any amongſt the greateſt families of men, by his example and doctrines foreclоſed his followers from claiming any ſhew of outward greatneſs, from

any

any ſuppoſed ſuperiority in themſelves, or derived from their anceſtors.

He who was greater than earthly princes, was not only meek and low of heart, but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every ſtain of the ſpirit of this world.

Such was the example of our bleſſed Redeemer, of whom the beloved diſciple ſaid, "He that ſaith he abideth in him, ought "alſo to walk even as he walked."

John Bradford, who ſuffered martyrdom, under queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of priſon, a ſhort time before he was burnt, in which are theſe expreſſions; "Conſider your dignity as children of God and temples of the Holy Ghoſt, and members of Chriſt, be aſhamed therefore to think, ſpeak, or do any thing unſeemly, for God's children and the members of Chriſt." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 1177.

CHAP. II.

On the example of CHRIST.

AS my mind hath been brought into a brotherly feeling with the poor, as to the things of this life, who are under trials in regard to getting a living in a way anſwerable to the purity of truth; a labour of heart

heart hath attended me, that their way may not be made difficult through the love of money in thoſe who are tried with plentiful eſtates, but that they with tenderneſs of heart may ſympathize with them.

It was the ſaying of our bleſſed Redeemer, "Ye cannot ſerve God and mammon." There is a deep feeling of the way of purity, a way in which the wiſdom of the world hath no part, but is opened by the ſpirit of truth, and is "called the way of holineſs;" a way in which the traveller is employed in watching unto prayer; and the outward gain we get in this journey is conſidered as a truſt committed to us, by HIM who formed and ſupports the world; and is the rightful director of the uſe and application of the product of it.

Now except the mind be preſerved chaſte, there is no ſafety for us; but in an eſtrangement from true reſignation, the ſpirit of the world caſts up a way, in which gain is many times principally attended to, and in which there is a ſelfiſh application of outward treaſures.

How agreeable to the true harmony of ſociety, is that exhortation of the apoſtle? "Look not every man on his own things, "but every man alſo on the things of others. "Let this mind be in you which was alſo in "Chriſt Jeſus."

A perſon in outward proſperity may have the power of obtaining riches, but the ſame mind being in him which is in Chriſt Jeſus, he

he may feel a tenderneſs of heart towards thoſe of low degree; and inſtead of ſetting himſelf above them, may look upon it as an unmerited favour, that his way through life is more eaſy than the way of many others; may improve every opportunity of leading forth out of thoſe cuſtoms which have entangled the family; employ his time in looking into the wants of the poor members, and hold forth ſuch a perfect example of humiliation, that the pure witneſs may be reached in many minds; and the way opened for a harmonious walking together.

Jeſus Chriſt, in promoting the happineſs of others, was not deficient in looking for the helpleſs, who lay in obſcurity, nor did he ſave any thing to render himſelf honourable amongſt men, which might have been of more uſe to the weak members in his Father's family; of whoſe compaſſion towards us I may now ſpeak a little. He who was perfectly happy in himſelf, moved with infinite love, "took not upon him the nature of angels," but our imperfect natures, and therein wreſtled with the temptations which attend us in this life; and being the Son of HIM who is greater than earthly princes, yet became a companion to poor, ſincere hearted men; and though he gave the cleareſt evidence that divine power attended him, yet the moſt unfavourable conſtructions were framed by a ſelf righteous people; thoſe miracles repreſented as the effect of a diabolical power, and endeavours uſed to render

him

him hateful, as having his miſſion from the prince of darkneſs; nor did their envy ceaſe till they took him like a criminal and brought him to trial. Though ſome may affect to carry the appearance of being unmoved at the apprehenſion of diſtreſs, our dear Redeemer, who was perfectly ſincere, having the ſame human nature which we have, and feeling, a little before he was apprehended, the weight of that work upon him, for which he came into the world, was "ſorrowful "even unto death;" here the human nature ſtruggled to be excuſed from a cup ſo bitter; but his prayers centered in reſignation, "Not "my will but thine be done." In this conflict, ſo great was his agony that "ſweat "like drops of blood fell from him to the "ground."

Behold now as foretold by the prophet, he is in a judicial manner "numbered with the "tranſgreſſors." Behold him as ſome poor man of no reputation, ſtanding before the high prieſt and elders, and before Herod and Pilate, where witneſſes appear againſt him, and he mindful of the moſt gracious deſign of his coming, declineth to plead in his own defence, "but as a ſheep that is dumb be-"fore his ſhearer," ſo under many accuſations, revilings, and buffetings, remained ſilent. And tho' he ſignified to Peter that he had acceſs to power ſufficient to overthrow all their outward forces; yet retaining a reſignation to ſuffer for the ſins of mankind, he exerted not that power, but permitted them

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to go on in their malicious defigns, and pronounce him to be worthy of death, even him who was perfect in goodneſs; thus "in his "humiliation his judgment was taken a-"way," and he, like ſome vile criminal, "led as a lamb to the ſlaughter." Under theſe heavy trials (though poor unſtable Pilate was convinced of his innocence, yet) the people generally looked upon him as a deceiver, a blaſphemer, and the approaching puniſhment as a juſt judgment upon him, "They "eſteemed him ſmitten of God and afflict-"ed." So great had been the ſurprize of his diſciples, at his being taken by armed men, that they "forſook him and fled;" thus they hid their faces from him, he was deſpiſed, and by their conduct it appeared as though "they eſteemed him not."

But contrary to that opinion, of his being ſmitten of God and afflicted, it was for our ſakes that "he was put to grief; he was "wounded for our tranſgreſſions; he was "bruiſed for our iniquities;" and under the weight of them manifeſting the deepeſt compaſſion for the inſtruments of his miſery, laboured as their advocate, and in the deeps of affliction, with an unconquerable patience, cried out, "Father forgive them, they "know not what they do!

Now this mind being in us, which was in Chriſt Jeſus, it removes from our hearts the deſire of ſuperiority, worldly honour or greatneſs; a deep attention is felt to the divine counſellor, and an ardent engagement

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to promote, as far as we may be enabled, the happineſs of mankind univerſally; this ſtate, where every motion from a ſelfiſh ſpirit yieldeth to pure love, I may, with gratitude to the father of mercies acknowledge, is often opened before me as a pearl to dig after; attended with a living concern, that amongſt the many nations and families on the earth, thoſe who believe in the Meſſiah, that "he "was manifeſted to deſtroy the works of the "Devil," and thus to "take away the ſins "of the world," may experience the will of our heavenly Father, "may be done on earth "as it is in heaven." Strong are the deſires I often feel, that this holy profeſſion may remain unpolluted, and the believers in Chriſt may ſo abide in the pure inward feeling of his ſpirit, that the wiſdom from above may ſhine forth in their living, as a light by which others may be inſtrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking.

CHAP. III.

On Merchandizing.

WHERE the treaſures of pure love are opened, and we obediently follow him who is the light of life, the mind becomes chaſte; and a care is felt, that the unction from the holy one may be our leader in every undertaking.

In

In being crucified to the world, broken off from that friendſhip which is enmity with God, and dead to the cuſtoms and faſhions which have not their foundation in the truth; the way is prepared to lowlineſs in outward living, and to a diſentanglement from thoſe ſnares which attend the love of money; and where the faithful friends of Chriſt are ſo ſituated that merchandize appears to be their duty, they feel a reſtraint from proceeding farther than he owns their proceeding; being convinced that "we are not our own but are "bought with a price, that none of us may "live to ourſelves, but to him who died for "us." 2 Corin. v. 15. Thus they are taught, not only to keep to a moderate advance and uprightneſs in their dealings; but to conſider the tendency of their proceeding; to do nothing which they know would operate againſt the cauſe of univerſal righteouſneſs; and to keep continually in view the ſpreading of the peaceable kingdom of Chriſt amongſt mankind.

The prophet Iſaiah ſpake of the gathered church, in the ſimilitude of a city, where many being employed were all preſerved in purity; "They ſhall call them the holy peo-"ple, the redeemed of the Lord, and thou "ſhalt be called ſought out, a city not for-"ſaken." lxiii. 10. And the apoſtle after mentioning the myſtery of Chriſt's ſufferings exhorts, "Be ye holy in all manner of con-"verſation." 1 Pet. i. 15. There is a converſation neceſſary in trade; and there is a converſation

converſation ſo foreign from the nature of Chriſt's kingdom, that it is repreſented in the ſimilitude of one man puſhing another with a warlike weapon; " There is that ſpeaketh " like the piercings of a ſword." Prov. xii. 18. Now in all our concerns it is neceſſary that the leading of the ſpirit of Chriſt be humbly waited for and faithfully followed, as the only means of being preſerved chaſte as an holy people, who " in all things are circumſpect." Exod. xxiii. 13, that nothing we do may carry the appearance of approbation of the works of wickedneſs, make the unrighteous more at eaſe in unrighteouſneſs, or occaſion the injuries committed againſt the oppreſſed to be more lightly looked over.

Where morality is kept to, and ſupported by the inhabitants of a country, there is a certain reproach attends thoſe individuals amongſt them, who manifeſtly deviate therefrom. Thus, if a perſon of good report, is charged with ſtealing goods out of an open ſhop in the day time, and on a public trial found guilty, and the law in that caſe put in execution, he therein ſuſtains a loſs of reputation; but if he be convicted a ſecond and third time of the like offence, his good name would ceaſe amongſt ſuch who knew theſe things. If his neighbour, reputed an honeſt man, being charged with buying goods of this thief, at a time when the purchaſer knew they were ſtolen, and on a public trial is found guilty, this purchaſer would meet with diſeſteem, but if he perſiſted in buying ſtolen goods,

goods, knowing them to be ſuch, and was publicly convicted thereof a ſecond and third time, he would no longer be conſidered as an honeſt man by them who knew theſe things; nor would it appear of good report to be found in his company, buying his traffick, till ſome evident tokens of ſincere repentance appeared in him. But where iniquity is committed openly, and the authors of it are not brought to juſtice, nor put to ſhame, their hands grow ſtrong. Thus the general corruption of the Jews ſhortly before their ſtate was broke up by the Chaldeans, is deſcribed by their boldneſs in impiety; for as their leaders were connected together in wickedneſs, they ſtrengthened one another, and grew confident, "Were they aſhamed when "they had committed abominations? nay, "they were not at all aſhamed, neither could "they bluſh." Jer. vi. 15, on which account the Lord thus expoſtulates with them, "What "hath my beloved to do in my houſe, ſeeing "ſhe hath wrought lewdneſs with many? "and the holy fleſh is paſſed from thee, "when thou doeſt evil, then thou rejoiceſt." Jer. xi. 15.

Now the faithful friends of Chriſt, who hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, and inwardly breath that his kingdom may come on earth as it is in heaven, he teacheth them to be quick of underſtanding in his fear, and to be very attentive to the means he may appoint for promoting pure righteouſneſs in the earth; and as ſhame is due to thoſe whoſe

works manifeſtly operate againſt the gracious deſign of his ſufferings for us, a care lives on their minds that no wrong cuſtoms however ſupported, may biaſs their judgments, but that they may humbly abide under the croſs and be preſerved in a conduct which may not contribute to ſtrengthen the hands of the wicked in their wickedneſs, or to remove ſhame from thoſe to whom it is juſtly due. The coming of that day is precious in which we experience the truth of this expreſſion. "The Lord our righteouſneſs." Jer. xiii. 6, and feel him to be "made unto us wiſdom "and ſanctification."

The example of a righteous man is often looked at with attention. Where righteous men join in buſineſs their company gives encouragement to others; and as one grain of incenſe deliberately offered to the prince of this world, renders an offering to God in that ſtate unacceptable; and from thoſe eſteemed leaders of the people may be injurious to the weak; it requires deep humility of heart, to follow him faithfully, who alone gives ſound wiſdom and the ſpirit of true diſcerning; and O how neceſſary it is, to conſider the weight of a holy profeſſion!

The conduct of ſome formerly, gave occaſion of complaint againſt them, "Thou haſt "defiled thy ſanctuaries by the multitude of "thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy "traffick." Ezek. xxviii. 18, and in ſeveral places it is charged againſt Iſrael that they had polluted the holy name.

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The prophet Iſaiah repreſents inward ſanctification in the ſimilitude of being purged from that which is fuel for fire; and particularly deſcribes the outward fruits, brought forth by thoſe who dwell in this inward holineſs, "they walk righteouſly, and ſpeak "uprightly. By walking he repreſents the journey through life, as a righteous journey; and "by ſpeaking uprightly," ſeems to point at that which Moſes appears to have had in view, when he thus expreſſed himſelf, "Thou "ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evil, "nor ſpeak in a caſe to decline after many "to wreſt judgment." Exod. xxiii. 2.

He goes on to ſhew their firmneſs in equity; repreſenting them as perſons ſuperior to all the arts of getting money, which have not righteouſneſs for their foundation; "They "deſpiſe the gain of oppreſſions:" and further ſhews how careful they are that no proſpects of gain may induce them to become partial in judgment reſpecting an injury; "They ſhake their hands from holding "bribes."

Again, where any intereſt is ſo connected with ſhedding blood, that the cry of innocent blood goes alſo with it; he points out their care to keep innocent blood from crying againſt them, in the ſimilitude of a man ſtopping his ears to prevent a ſound from entering his head, "They ſtop their ears from "hearing blood;" and where they know that wickedneſs is committed, he points out with care, that they do not by an unguarded

friendſhip with the authors of it, appear like unconcerned lookers on, but as people ſo deeply affected with ſorrow, that they cannot endure to ſtand by and behold it; this he repreſents in the ſimilitude of a man "ſhutting "his eyes from ſeeing evil."

"Who amongſt us ſhall dwell with the de-"vouring fire? Who amongſt us ſhall dwell "with everlaſting burnings? He that walk-"eth righteouſly and ſpeaketh uprightly. He "that deſpiſeth the gain of oppreſſions, that "ſhaketh his hands from holding of bribes, "that ſtoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, "and ſhutteth his eyes from ſeeing evil." Iſaiah xxxiii. 14, 15.

He proceeds in the ſpirit of prophecy to ſhew how the faithful being ſupported under temptations, would be preſerved from that defilement that there is in the love of money; that as they who in a reverent waiting on God, feel their ſtrength renewed, are ſaid to "mount upward;" ſo here their preſervation from the ſnare of unrighteous gain, is repreſented in the likeneſs of a man, borne up above all crafty, artful means of getting the advantage of another, "They ſhall dwell on "high; and points out the ſtability and firmneſs of their condition, "His place of "defence ſhall be the munitions of rocks;" and that under all the outward appearances of loſs, in denying himſelf of gainful profits for righteouſneſs ſake, yet through the care of him who provides for the ſparrows, he ſhould have a ſupply anſwerable to his infi-

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nite wiſdom, " Bread ſhall be given him, " his waters ſhall be ſure." And as our Saviour mentions the ſight of God to be attainable by " the pure in heart," ſo here the prophet pointed out, how in true ſanctification the underſtanding is opened, to behold the peaceable harmonious nature of his kingdom, " thine eyes ſhall ſee the king in his beauty :" and that looking beyond all the afflictions which attend the righteous, to " a habitati- " on eternal in the heavens," they with an eye divinely open " ſhall behold the land that " is very far off.

" He ſhall dwell on high, his place of de- " fence ſhall be the munitions of rocks, bread " ſhall be given him, his waters ſhall be ſure. " Thine eyes ſhall ſee the king in his beauty ; " they ſhall behold the land that is very far " off." Iſaiah xxxiii. 16, 17.

I often remember, and to me the ſubject is awful, that the great Judge of all the earth doeth that which is right, and that he " be- " fore whom the nations are as the drop of " a bucket," is " no reſpecter of perſons." Happy for them, who like the inſpired prophet, " in the way of his judgments wait for him." Iſaiah xxvi. 8.

When we feel him to ſit as a refiner with fire, and know a reſignedneſs wrought in us, to that which he appoints for us, his bleſſing in a very low eſtate, is found to be more precious than much outward treaſure in thoſe ways of life where the leadings of his ſpirit are not followed,

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The prophet in a ſight of divine work amongſt many people, declared in the name of the Lord, " I will gather all nations and " tongues, and they ſhall come and ſee my " glory." Iſaiah lxvi. 18. And again, " from " the riſing of the ſun to the going down of " the ſame, my name ſhall be great amongſt " the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe " ſhall be offered to my name, and a pure " offering." Malachi i. 11.

Behold here how the prophets had an inward ſenſe of the ſpreading of the kingdom of Chriſt; and how he was ſpoken of as one who ſhould " take the heathen for his inhe- " ritance, and the utmoſt parts of the earth " for his poſſeſſion." Pſal. ii. 8. That " he " was given for a light to the Gentiles; and " for ſalvation to the ends of the earth." Iſaiah xlix. 6.

When we meditate on this divine work, as a work of ages; a work that the prophets felt long before Chriſt appeared viſibly on earth, and remember the bitter agonies he endured when he " poured out his ſoul unto death," that the heathen nations, as well as others, might come to the knowledge of the truth and be ſaved.

When we contemplate on this marvellous work, as that which " the angels deſire to " look into." 1 Pet. i. 12. And behold people amongſt whom this light hath eminently broken forth, and who have received many favours from the bountiful hand of our heavenly Father; not only indifferent with reſpect

ſpect to publiſhing the glad tidings amongſt the Gentiles, as yet ſitting in darkneſs and entangled with many ſuperſtitions; but aſpiring after wealth and worldly honours, take hold of means to obtain their ends, tending to ſtir up wrath and indignation, and to beget an abhorrence in them to the name of chriſtianity. When theſe things are weightily attended to, how mournful is the ſubject?

It is worthy of remembrance, that people in different ages, deeply baptiſed into the nature of that work for which Chriſt ſuffered, have joyfully offered up their liberty and lives for the promoting of it in the earth.

Policarp, who was reputed a diſciple of St. John, having attained to great age, was at length ſentenced to die for his religion, and being brought to the fire, prayed nearly as follows, "Thou God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom I have received the knowledge of thee! O God of the angels and powers, and of every living creature, and of all ſorts of juſt men which live in thy preſence. I thank thee! that thou haſt graciouſly vouchſafed this day and this hour to allot me a portion among the number of martyrs, among the people of Chriſt, unto the reſurrection of everlaſting life; among whom I ſhall be received in thy ſight, this day, as a fruitful and acceptable ſacrifice, wherefore for all this, I praiſe thee, I bleſs thee, I glorify thee through the everlaſting high Prieſt, Jeſus Chriſt, thy well beloved

ſon;

ſon; to whom, with thee and the holy Ghoſt, be all glory, world without end. Amen.

Biſhop Latimer, when ſentence of death by fire, was pronounced againſt him, on account of his firmneſs in the cauſe of religion, he ſaid, "I thank God moſt heartily! that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may, in this caſe glorify him by this kind of death." Fox's Acts and Mon. 936.

William Dewſbery, who had ſuffered much for his religion, in his laſt ſickneſs, encouraging his friends to faithfulneſs, made mention, like good old Jacob, of the loving kindneſs of God to him in the courſe of his life, and that through the power of divine love, he for Chriſt's ſake had joyfully entered priſons. See introduction to his works.

I mention theſe, as a few examples, out of many, of the powerful operation of the ſpirit of Chriſt, where people are fully devoted to it, and of the ardent longings in their minds for the ſpreading of his kingdom amongſt mankind. Now to thoſe, in the preſent age, who truly know Chriſt, and feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their underſtandings, how loud is that call wherewith we are called to faithfulneſs; that in following this pure light of life, "we as "workers together with him," may labour in that great work for which he was offered as a ſacrifice on the croſs; and that his peaceable doctrines may ſhine through us in their real harmony, at a time when the name of

chriſtianity

chriſtianity is become hateful to many of the heathen.

When Gehazi had obtained treaſures, which the prophet under divine direction had refuſed, and was returned from the buſineſs; the prophet troubled at his conduct, queried if it was a time thus to prepare for a ſpecious living.

" Is it a time to receive money and gar-
" ments, men ſervants and maid ſervants,
" the leproſy therefore of Naaman ſhall cleave
" to thee and to thy ſeed forever." 2 Kings v. 26. And O that we may lay to heart the condition of the preſent time! and humbly follow his counſel, who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking amongſt mankind.

CHAP. IV.

On divine Admonitions.

SUCH are the perfections of our heavenly Father, that in all the diſpenſations of his providence, it is our duty, " in every
" thing, to give thanks." Though from the firſt ſettlement of this part of America, he hath not extended his judgments to the degree of famine, yet worms at times have come forth beyond numbering, and laid waſte fields of grain and graſs, where they have appeared: another kind, in great multitudes,

working

working out of ſight, in graſs ground, have ſo eat the roots that the ſurface, being looſened from the ſoil beneath, might be taken off in great ſheets.

Theſe kind of devouring creatures appearing ſeldom, and coming in ſuch multitudes, their generation appears different from moſt other reptiles, and by the prophet were called "God's army ſent amongſt the people." Joel ii. 25.

There have been tempeſts of hail, which have very much deſtroyed the grain where they extended. Through long drought in ſummer, grain in ſome places hath been leſs than half the uſual quantity *; and in the continuance thereof, I have beheld with attention, from week to week, how dryneſs from the top of the earth, hath extended deeper and deeper, while the corn and plants have languiſhed; and with reverence my mind hath been turned toward HIM, who being perfect in goodneſs, in wiſdom and power, doeth all things right. And after long drought, when the ſky hath grown dark with a collection of matter, and clouds like lakes of water hung over our heads, from whence the thirſty land hath been ſoaked; I have at times, with awfulneſs, beheld the vehement operation of lightning, made ſometimes to accompany theſe bleſſings, as a meſ-

ſenger

* When crops fail, I often feel a tender care that the caſe of poor tenants may be mercifully conſidered.

ſenger from HIM who created all things, to remind us of our duty in a right uſe of thoſe benefits, and give ſtriking admonitions, that we do not miſapply thoſe gifts, in which an Almighty power is exerted, in beſtowing them upon us.

When I have conſidered that many of our fellow creatures ſuffer much in ſome places, for want of the neceſſaries of life, whilſt thoſe who rule over them are too much given to luxury, and divers vanities; and behold the apparent deviation from pure wiſdom amongſt us, in the uſe of the outward gifts of God; thoſe marks of famine have appeared like humbling admonitions from him, that we might be inſtructed by gentle chaſtiſements, and might ſeriouſly conſider our ways; remembring that the outward ſupply of life is a gift from our heavenly Father, and that we ſhould no more venture to uſe, or apply his gifts, in a way contrary to pure wiſdom.

Should we continue to reject thoſe merciful admonitions, and uſe his gifts at home, contrary to the gracious deſign of the giver, or ſend them abroad in a way of trade, which the ſpirit of truth doth not lead into; and ſhould he whoſe eyes are upon all our ways, extend his chaſtiſements ſo far as to reduce us to much greater diſtreſs than hath yet been felt by theſe provinces; with what ſorrow of heart might we meditate on that ſubject, "Haſt thou not procured this unto thy ſelf, "in that thou haſt forſaken the Lord thy "God, when he led thee by thee way? "Thine

" Thine own wickedneſs ſhall correct thee,
" and thy backſlidings ſhall reprove thee:
" know therefore and ſee, that it is an evil
" thing and bitter, that thou haſt forſaken
" the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not
" in thee, ſaith the Lord God of hoſts." Jer. ii. 17, 19.

My mind hath often been affected with ſorrow, in beholding a wrong application of the gifts of our heavenly Father; and thoſe expreſſions concerning the defilement of the earth have been opened to my underſtanding, " The earth was corrupt before God, and " the earth was filled with violence." Gen. vi. 11. Again, Iſaiah xxiv. 5. " The earth " alſo, is defiled under the inhabitants there- " of, becauſe they have—broken the ever- " laſting covenant."

The earth being the work of a divine power, may not as ſuch be accounted unclean; but when violence is committed thereon, and the channel of righteouſneſs ſo obſtructed, that " in our ſkirts are found the blood of " the ſouls of poor innocents; not by a ſe- " cret ſearch, but upon all theſe." Jerem. ii. 34. *

When blood, ſhed unrighteouſly, remains unattoned for, and the inhabitants are not effectually purged from it, when they do not waſh their hands in innocency, as was figured in the law, in the caſe of one being found ſlain;

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* See a caution and warning to Great-Britain and her colonies, page 31.

ſlain; but ſeek for gain ariſing from ſcenes of violence and oppreſſion, here the land is polluted with blood. Deut. xxi. 6.

Moreover, when the earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are applied to ſupport unrighteous purpoſes; here the gracious deſign of infinite goodneſs, in theſe his gifts being perverted, the earth is defiled; and the complaint formerly uttered becomes applicable; "Thou haſt made me to ſerve "with thy ſins; thou haſt wearied me with "thine iniquities." Iſaiah xliii. 24.

THE END.

REMARKS

ON

SUNDRY SUBJECTS.

First printed in London, 1773.

CHAP. I.

On loving our Neighbours as ourselves.

WHEN we love the Lord with all our hearts, and his creatures in his love, we are then preserved in tenderness both toward mankind and the animal creation; but if another spirit gets room in our minds, and we follow it in our proceedings, we are then in the way of disordering the affairs of society.

If a man successful in business expends part of his income in things of no real use, while the poor employed by him pass through great difficulties in getting the necessaries of life, this requires his serious attention.

If

If ſeveral principal men in buſineſs unite in ſetting the wages of thoſe who work for hire, and therein have regard to a profit to themſelves anſwerable to unneceſſary expence in their families, while the wages of the others on a moderate induſtry will not afford a comfortable living for their families, and a proper education for their children; this is like laying a temptation in the way of ſome to ſtrive for a place higher than they are in, when they have not ſtock ſufficient for it.

Now I feel a concern in the ſpring of pure love, that all who have plenty of outward ſubſtance, may example others in the right uſe of things; may carefully look into the condition of poor people, and beware of exacting on them with regard to their wages.

While hired labourers, by moderate induſtry, through the divine bleſſing, may live comfortably, raiſe up families, and give them ſuitable education, it appears reaſonable for them to be content with their wages.

If they who have plenty, love their fellow creatures in that love which is divine, and in all their proceedings have an equal regard to the good of mankind univerſally, their place in ſociety is a place of care, an office requiring attention, and the more we poſſeſs, the greater is our truſt, and with an increaſe of treaſure, an increaſe of care becomes neceſſary.

When our will is ſubject to the will of God, and in relation to the things of this world, we have nothing in view, but a comfortable

living

living equally with the reſt of our fellow creatures, then outward treaſures are no farther deſirable than as we feel a gift in our minds equal to the truſt, and ſtrength to act as dutiful children in his ſervice, who hath formed all mankind, and appointed a ſubſiſtence for us in this world.

A deſire for treaſures on any other motive, appears to be againſt that command of our bleſſed Saviour, " Lay not up for yourſelves " treaſures on earth, Mat. vi. 19.

He forbids not laying up in the ſummer againſt the wants of winter; nor doth he teach us to be ſlothful in that which properly relates to our being in this world; but in this prohibition he puts in *yourſelves* " Lay " not up for *yourſelves* treaſures here on " earth."

Now in the pure light, this language is underſtood, for in the love of Chriſt there is no reſpect of perſons; and while we abide in his love, we live not to ourſelves, but to him who died for us. And as we are thus united in ſpirit to Chriſt, we are engaged to labour in promoting that work in the earth for which he ſuffered.

In this ſtate of mind our deſires are, that every honeſt member in ſociety may have a portion of treaſure, and ſhare of truſt, anſwerable to that gift, with which our heavenly Father hath gifted us.

In great treaſure, there is a great truſt.
A great truſt requireth great care.
But the laborious mind wants reſt.

A pious

A pious man is content to do a ſhare of buſineſs in ſociety, anſwerable to the gifts with which he is endowed; while the channels of buſineſs are free from unrighteouſneſs, but is careful leſt at any time his heart be overcharged.

In the harmonious ſpirit of ſociety "Chriſt "is all in all," Col. iii. 11.

Here it is that "old things are paſt away, "all things are new, all things are of God," 2 Cor. v. 17, 18. and the deſire for outward riches is at an end.

They of low degree who have ſmall gifts, enjoy their help who have large gifts; thoſe with their ſmall gifts, have a ſmall degree of care, while theſe with their large gifts, have a large degree of care: and thus to abide in the love of Chriſt, and enjoy a comfortable living in this world is all that is aimed at by thoſe members in ſociety, to whom Chriſt is made wiſdom and righteouſneſs.

But when they who have much treaſure, are not faithful ſtewards of the gifts of God, great difficulties attend it.

Now this matter hath deeply affected my mind. The Lord, through merciful chaſtiſements, hath given me a feeling of that love, in which the harmony of ſociety ſtandeth, and a ſight of the growth of that ſeed which bringeth forth wars and great calamities in the world, and a labour attends me to open it to others.

Now to act with integrity, according to that ſtrength of mind and body with which

 our

our creator hath endowed each of us, appears neceſſary for all, and he who thus ſtands in the loweſt ſtation, appears to be entitled to as comfortable and convenient a living, as he whoſe gifts of mind are greater, and whoſe cares are more extenſive.

If ſome endowed with ſtrong underſtandings as men, abide not in the harmonious ſtate, in which we "love our neighbours as "ourſelves," but walk in that ſpirit in which the children of this world are wiſe in their generation; theſe by the ſtrength of contrivance may ſometimes gather great treaſure, but the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God; and if we gather treaſures in worldly wiſdom, we lay up "treaſures for "ourſelves;" and great treaſures managed in any other ſpirit, than the ſpirit of truth, diſordereth the affairs of ſociety, for hereby the good gifts of God in this outward creation are turned into the channels of worldly honour, and frequently applied to ſupport luxury, while the wages of poor labourers are ſuch, that with moderate induſtry and frugality they may not live comfortably, raiſe up families, and give them ſuitable education, but through the ſtreightneſs of their condition, are often drawn on to labour under wearineſs, to toil through hardſhips themſelves, and frequently to oppreſs thoſe uſeful animals with which we are entruſted.

From age to age, throughout all ages, divine love is that alone, in which dominion has been, is, and will be rightly conducted.

In

In this the endowments of men are ſo employed, that the friend and the governor are united in one, and oppreſſive cuſtoms come to an end.

Riches in the hands of individuals in ſociety, is attended with ſome degree of power; and ſo far as power is put forth ſeparate from pure love, ſo far the government of the Prince of Peace is interrupted; and as we know not that our children after us will dwell in that ſtate in which power is rightly applied, to lay up riches for them appears to be againſt the nature of his government.

The earth, through the labour of men under the bleſſing of him who formed it, yieldeth a ſupply for the inhabitants from generation to generation, and they who walk in the pure light, their minds are prepared to taſte and reliſh not only thoſe bleſſings which are ſpiritual, but alſo feel a ſweetneſs and ſatisfaction in a right uſe of the good gifts of God in the viſible creation.

Here we ſee that man's happineſs ſtands not in great poſſeſſions, but in a heart devoted to follow Chriſt, in that uſe of things, where cuſtoms contrary to univerſal love have no power over us.

In this ſtate our hearts are prepared to truſt in God, and our deſires for our children and poſterity are, that they, with the reſt of mankind, in ages to come, may be of that number, of whom he hath ſaid, "I will be a "father to them, and they ſhall be my ſons "and daughters," 2 Cor. vi. 18.

When wages in a fruitful land bear ſo ſmall a proportion to the neceſſaries of life, that poor honeſt people who have families cannot by a moderate induſtry attain to a comfortable living, and give their children ſufficient learning, but muſt either labour to a degree of oppreſſion, or elſe omit that which appears to be a duty.

While this is the caſe with the poor, there is an inclination in the minds of moſt people, to prepare at leaſt ſo much treaſure for their children, that they with care and moderate induſtry may live free from theſe hardſhips which the poor paſs through.

Now this ſubject requireth our ſerious conſideration: to labour that our children may be put in a way to live comfortably, appears in itſelf to be a duty, ſo long as theſe our labours are conſiſtent with univerſal righteouſneſs; but if in ſtriving to ſhun poverty, we do not walk in that ſtate where "Chriſt is "our life," then we wander; "He that "hath the Son, hath life," 1 John v. 12. "This life is the light of men," John i. 4. If we walk not in this light, we walk in darkneſs, and "he that walketh in darkneſs, "knoweth not whither he goeth," John xii. 35.

To keep to right means in labouring to attain a right end is neceſſary: if in ſtriving to ſhun poverty, we ſtrive only in that ſtate, where Chriſt is the light of our life, our labours will ſtand in the true harmony of ſociety; but if people are confident that the

end

end aimed at is good, and in this confidence purſue it ſo eagerly, as not to wait for the ſpirit of truth to lead them, then they come to loſs. "Chriſt is given to be a leader and "commander of the people," Iſaiah lv. 4. Again; "The Lord ſhall guide thee conti- "nually," Iſaiah lviii. 12. Again; "Lord, "thou wilt ordain peace for us, for thou "alſo haſt wrought all our works in us." Iſaiah xxvi. 12.

"In the Lord have we righteouſneſs and "ſtrength," Iſaiah xlv. 24.

In this ſtate our minds are preſerved watchful in following the leadings of his ſpirit in all our proceedings in this world, and a care is felt for a reformation in general; that our own poſterity, with the reſt of mankind in ſucceeding ages, may not be entangled by oppreſſive cuſtoms, tranſmitted to them through our hands: but if people in the narrowneſs of natural love, are afraid that their children will be oppreſſed by the rich, and through an eager deſire to get treaſures, depart from the pure leadings of truth in one caſe, though it may ſeem to be a ſmall matter, yet the mind even in that ſmall matter may be emboldened to continue in a way of proceeding, without waiting for the divine Leader.

Thus people may grow expert in buſineſs, wiſe in the wiſdom of this world, retain a fair reputation amongſt men, and yet being ſtrangers to the voice of Chriſt, the ſafe leader of his flock, the treaſures thus gotten, may

may be like ſnares to the feet of their poſterity.

Now to keep faithful to the pure counſellor, and under trying circumſtances ſuffer adverſity for righteouſneſs ſake, in this there is a reward.

If we, being poor, are hardly dealt with by thoſe who are rich, and under this difficulty are frugal and induſtrious, and in true humility open our caſe to them who oppreſs us, this may reach the pure witneſs in their minds; and though we ſhould remain under difficulties as to the outward, yet if we abide in the love of Chriſt, all will work for our good.

When we feel what it is to ſuffer in the true ſuffering ſtate, then we experience the truth of thoſe expreſſions, that, "as the ſufferings "of Chriſt abound in us, ſo our conſolation "aboundeth by Chriſt," 2 Cor. i. 5.

But if poor people who are hardly dealt with, do not attain to the true ſuffering ſtate, do not labour in true love with thoſe who deal hardly with them, but envy their outward greatneſs, murmur in their hearts becauſe of their own poverty, and ſtrive in the wiſdom of this world to get riches for themſelves and their children; this is like wandering in the dark.

If we who are of a middle ſtation between riches and poverty, are affected at times with the oppreſſions of the poor, and feel a tender regard for our poſterity after us; O how neceſſary

ceſſary is it that we wait for the pure counſel of truth!

Many have ſeen the hardſhips of the poor, felt an eager deſire that their children may be put in a way to eſcape theſe hardſhips; but how few have continued in that pure love which openeth our underſtandings to proceed rightly under theſe difficulties!

How few have faithfully followed that holy Leader who prepares his people to labour for the reſtoration of true harmony amongſt our fellow-creatures!

"In the pure goſpel ſpirit we walk by "faith and not by ſight," 2 Cor. v. 7.

In the obedience of faith we die to the narrowneſs of ſelf-love, and our life being hid with Chriſt in God, our hearts are enlarged toward mankind univerſally; but in departing from the true light of life, many in ſtriving to get treaſures have ſtumbled upon the dark mountains.

Now that purity of life which proceeds from faithfulneſs in following the ſpirit of truth, that ſtate where our minds are devoted to ſerve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wiſdom, this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where we may ſtand ſeparated from that which diſordereth and confuſeth the affairs of ſociety, and where we may have a teſtimony of our innocence in the hearts of thoſe who behold us.

Through

Through departing from the truth as it is in Jeſus, through introducing ways of life attended with unneceſſary expences, many wants have ariſen, the minds of people have been employed in ſtudying to get wealth, and in this purſuit ſome departing from equity, have retained a profeſſion of religion; others have looked at their example, and thereby been ſtrengthened to proceed further in the ſame way: thus many have encouraged the trade of taking men from Africa, and ſelling them as ſlaves.

It hath been computed that near one hundred thouſand Negroes have of late years been taken annually from that coaſt, by ſhips employed in the Engliſh trade.

As I have travelled on religious viſits in ſome parts of America, I have ſeen many of theſe people under the command of overſeers, in a painful ſervitude.

I have beheld them as Gentiles under people profeſſing chriſtianity, not only kept ignorant of the holy ſcriptures, but under great provocations to wrath; of whom it may truly be ſaid, "They that rule over them "make them to howl, and the holy Name is "abundantly blaſphemed," Iſaiah lii. 5. Where children are taught to read the ſacred writings, while young, and exampled in meekneſs and humility, it is often helpful to them; nor is this any more than a debt due from us to a ſucceeding age.

But where youth are pinched for want of the neceſſaries of life, forced to labour hard

under

under the harſh rebukes of rigorous overſeers, and many times endure unmerciful whippings: in ſuch an education, how great are the diſadvantages they lie under! And how forcibly do theſe things work againſt the increaſe of the government of the Prince of Peace!

Humphrey Smith, in his works, p. 125, ſpeaking of the tender feelings of the love of God in his heart when he was a child, ſaid, "By the violent wrathful nature that ruled in others, was my quietneſs diſturbed, and anger begotten in me toward them, yet that of God in me was not wholly overcome, but his love was felt in my heart, and great was my grief when the earthly-mindedneſs and wrathful nature ſo provoked me, that I was eſtranged from it."

"And this I write as a warning to parents and others, that in the fear of the living God, you may train up the youth, and may not be a means of bringing them into ſuch alienation."

Many are the vanities and luxuries of the preſent age, and in labouring to ſupport a way of living conformable to the preſent world, the departure from that wiſdom that is pure and peaceable, hath been great.

Under the ſenſe of a deep revolt, and an overflowing ſtream of unrighteouſneſs, my life has been often a life of mourning, and tender deſires are raiſed in me, that the nature of this practice may be laid to heart.

I have

I have read ſome books wrote by people who were acquainted with the manner of getting ſlaves in Africa.

I have had verbal relations of this nature from ſeveral Negroes brought from Africa, who have learned to talk Engliſh.

I have ſundry times heard Engliſhmen ſpeak on this ſubject, who have been in Africa on this buſineſs; and from all theſe accounts it appears evident that great violence is committed, and much blood ſhed in Africa in getting ſlaves.

When three or four hundred ſlaves are put in the hold of a veſſel in a hot climate, their breathing ſoon affects the air. Were that number of free people to go paſſengers with all things proper for their voyage, there would inconvenience ariſe from their number; but ſlaves are taken by violence, and frequently endeavour to kill the white people, that they may return to their native land. Hence they are frequenty kept under ſuch a ſort of confinement, by means of which a ſcent ariſeth in the hold of a ſhip, and diſtempers often break out amongſt them, of which many die. Of this tainted air in the hold of ſhips freighted with ſlaves, I have had ſeveral accounts, ſome in print, and ſome verbal, and all agree that the ſcent is grievous. When theſe people are ſold in America, and in the iſlands, they are made to labour in a manner more ſervile and conſtant, than that which they were uſed to at home, that with

with grief, with different diet from what has been common with them, and with hard labour, ſome thouſands are computed to die every year, in what is called the ſeaſoning.

Thus it appears evident, that great numbers of theſe people are brought every year to an untimely end; many of them being ſuch who never injured us.

Where the innocent ſuffer under hard-hearted men, even unto death, and the channels of equity are ſo obſtructed, that the cauſe of the ſufferers is not judged in righteouſneſs, "the land is polluted with blood," Numb. xxxv. 33.

Where blood hath been ſhed unrighteouſly, and remains unattoned for, the cry thereof is very piercing.

Under the humbling diſpenſations of divine Providence, this cry hath deeply affected my heart, and I feel a concern to open, as I may be enabled, that which lieth heavy on my mind.

When "the iniquity of the houſe of Iſrael "and of Judah was exceeding great, when "the land was defiled with blood, and the "city full of perverſneſs," Ezek. ix. 9. "Some were found ſighing and crying for "the abominations of the times," Ezek. ix. 4. and ſuch who live under a right feeling of our condition as a nation, theſe I truſt will be ſenſible that the Lord at this day doth call to mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad cuſtoms when they become general, that people growing bold

thro'

thro' the examples one of another, have often been unmoved at the moſt ſerious warnings.

Our bleſſed Saviour ſpeaking of the people of the old world, ſaid, "They eat, they "drank, they married, and were given in "marriage, until the day that Noah went "into the ark, and the flood came and de-"ſtroyed them all," Luke xvii. 27.

The like he ſpake concerning the people of Sodom, who are alſo repreſented by the prophet as haughty, luxurious, and oppreſſive; "This was the ſin of Sodom, pride, fulneſs "of bread, and abundance of idleneſs was "found in her, and in her daughters; nei-"ther did ſhe ſtrengthen the hands of the "poor and needy," Ezek. xvi. 49.

Now in a revolt ſo deep as this, when much blood has been ſhed unrighteouſly, in carrying on the ſlave-trade, and in ſupporting the practice of keeping ſlaves, which at this day is unattoned for, and crieth from the earth, and from the ſeas againſt the oppreſſor!

While this practice is continued, and under a great load of guilt there is more unrighteouſneſs committed, the ſtate of things is very moving!

There is a love which ſtands in nature, and a parent beholding his child in miſery hath a feeling of the affliction; but in divine love the heart is enlarged towards mankind univerſally, and prepared to ſympathiſe with ſtrangers, though in the loweſt ſtations in life.

Of

Of this the prophet appears to have had a feeling, when he ſaid, "Have we not all one "Father? Hath not one God created us? "Why then do we deal treacherouſly every "man with his brother, in prophaning the "covenant of our fathers?" Mal. ii. 10.

He who of old heard the groans of the children of Iſrael under the hard taſk-maſters in Egypt, I truſt hath looked down from his holy habitation on the miſeries of theſe deeply oppreſſed people. Many lives have been ſhortned through extreme oppreſſion, while they laboured to ſupport luxury and worldly greatneſs; and tho' many people in outward proſperity may think little of thoſe things, yet the gracious Creator hath regard to the cries of the innocent, however unnoticed by men.

The Lord in the riches of his goodneſs is leading ſome into the feeling of the condition of this people, who cannot reſt without labouring as their advocates; of which in ſome meaſure I have had experience, for, in the movings of his love in my heart, theſe poor ſufferers have been brought near to me.

The unoffending aged and infirm made to labour too hard, kept on a diet leſs comfortable than their weak ſtate required, and expoſed to great difficulties under hard-hearted men, to whoſe ſufferings I have often been a witneſs, and under the heart-melting power of divine love, their miſery hath felt to me like the miſery of my parents.

Innocent youth taken by violence from their native land, from their friends and acquaintance; put on board ſhips with hearts laden with ſorrow; expoſed to great hardſhips at ſea; placed under people, where their lives have been attended with great provocation to anger and revenge.

With the condition of theſe youth, my mind hath often been affected, as with the afflictions of my children, and in a feeling of the miſery of theſe people, and of that great offence which is miniſtered to them, my tears have been often poured out before the Lord.

That holy Spirit which affected my heart when I was a youth, I truſt is often felt by the Negroes in their native land, inclining their minds to that which is righteous, and had the profeſſed followers of Chriſt in all their conduct toward them, manifeſted a diſpoſition anſwerable to the pure principle in their hearts, how might the holy Name have been honoured amongſt the Gentiles, and how might we have rejoiced in the fulfilling of that prophecy, "I the Lord love judg-
" ment, I hate robbery for burnt-offerings,
" and I will direct their work in truth, and
" make an everlaſting covenant with them.
" Their ſeed ſhall be known amongſt the
" Gentiles, and their offspring amongſt the
" people: all that ſee them ſhall acknowledge
" them, that they are the ſeed which the
" Lord hath bleſſed," Iſaiah lxi. 8, 9.

But

But in the preſent ſtate of things, how contrary is this practice to that meek ſpirit, in which our Saviour laid down his life for us, that all the ends of the earth might know ſalvation in his name!

How are the ſufferings of our bleſſed Redeemer ſet at nought, and his name blaſphemed amongſt the Gentiles, through the unrighteous proceedings of his profeſſed followers!

My mind hath often been affected, even from the days of my youth, under a ſenſe of that marvellous work, for which God, in infinite goodneſs, ſent his Son into the world.

The opening of that ſpring of living waters, which the true believers in Chriſt experience, by which they are redeemed from pride and covetouſneſs, and brought into a ſtate of meekneſs, where their hearts are enlarged in true love toward their fellow creatures univerſally; this work to me has been precious, and the ſpreading the knowledge of the truth amongſt the Gentiles been very deſirable. And the profeſſed followers of Chriſt joining in cuſtoms evidently unrighteous, which manifeſtly tend to ſtir up wrath, and increaſe wars and deſolations, hath often covered my mind with ſorrow.

If we bring this matter home, and as Job propoſed to his friends, "Put our ſoul in "their ſoul's ſtead," Job xvi. 4.

If we conſider ourſelves and our children as expoſed to the hardſhips which theſe peo-

ple

ple lie under in ſupporting an imaginary greatneſs.

Did we in ſuch caſe behold an increaſe of luxury and ſuperfluity amongſt our oppreſſors, and therewith felt an increaſe of the weight of our burdens, and expected our poſterity to groan under oppreſſion after us.

Under all this miſery, had we none to plead our cauſe, nor any hope of relief from man, how would our cries aſcend to the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, who judgeth the world in righteouſneſs, and in his own time is a refuge for the oppreſſed!

If they who thus afflicted us, continued to lay claim to religion, and were aſſiſted in their buſineſs by others, eſteemed pious people, who through a friendſhip with them ſtrengthened their hands in tyranny.

In ſuch a ſtate, when we were hunger-bitten, and could not have ſufficient nouriſhment, but ſaw them in fulneſs pleaſing their taſte with things fetched from far:

When we were wearied with labour, denied the liberty to reſt, and ſaw them ſpending their time at eaſe: when garments anſwerable to our neceſſities were denied us, while we ſaw them cloathed in that which was coſtly and delicate:

Under ſuch affliction, how would theſe painful feelings riſe up as witneſſes againſt their pretended devotion! And if the name of their religion was mentioned in our hearing, how would it ſound in our ears like a

word

word which ſignified ſelf-exaltation, and hardneſs of heart!

When a trade is carried on, productive of much miſery, and they who ſuffer by it are ſome thouſand miles off, the danger is the greater, of not laying their ſufferings to heart.

In procuring ſlaves on the coaſt of Africa, many children are ſtolen privately; wars alſo are encouraged amongſt the Negroes, but all is at a great diſtance.

Many groans ariſe from dying men, which we hear not.

Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherleſs children, which reach not our ears.

Many cheeks are wet with tears, and faces fad with unutterable grief, which we ſee not.

Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are ſtrengthened, and thouſands reduced to the moſt abject ſlavery, who never injured us.

Were we for the term of one year only to be eye-witneſſes to what paſſeth in getting theſe ſlaves:

Was the blood which is there ſhed to be ſprinkled on our garments:

Were the poor captives bound with thongs, heavy laden with elephants teeth, to paſs before our eyes on their way to the ſea:

Were their bitter lamentations day after day to ring in our ears, and their mournful cries in the night to hinder us from ſleeping:

Were we to hear the ſound of the tumult when the ſlaves on board the ſhips attempt to kill the Engliſh, and behold the iſſue of thoſe bloody conflicts:

What pious man could be a witneſs to theſe things, and ſee a trade carried on in this manner, without being deeply affected with ſorrow?

Through abiding in the love of Chriſt we feel a tenderneſs in our hearts toward our fellow-creatures, entangled in oppreſſive cuſtoms; and a concern ſo to walk, that our conduct may not be a means of ſtrengthening them in error.

It was the command of the Lord through Moſes, "Thou ſhalt not ſuffer ſin upon thy "brother: thou ſhalt in anywiſe rebuke thy "brother, and ſhalt not ſuffer ſin upon "him." Lev. xix. 17.

Again; "Keep far from a falſe matter; "and the innocent and righteous ſlay thou "not." Exod. xxiii. 7.

The prophet Iſaiah mentions oppreſſion as that which the true church in time of outward quiet ſhould not only be clear of, but ſhould be *far from it*; "Thou ſhalt be far "from oppreſſion." Iſaiah liv. 14. Now theſe words, *far from*, appear to have an extenſive meaning, and to convey inſtruction in regard to that of which Solomon ſpeaks, "Though hand join in hand, the wicked "ſhall not go unpuniſhed." Prov. xvi. 5.

It was a complaint againſt one of old, "When thou ſaweſt a thief, thou conſent-"edſt with him." Pſal. l. 18. The

The prophet Jeremiah repreſents the degrees of preparation toward idolatrous ſacrifice, in the ſimilitude of a work carried on by children, men, and women. "The "children gather wood, the fathers kindle "the fire, and the women knead the dough "to bake cakes for the queen of heaven." Jer. vii. 18.

It was a complaint of the Lord againſt Iſrael, through his prophet Ezekiel, that "they "ſtrengthened the hands of the wicked, and "made the hearts of the righteous ſad." Ezek. xiii. 12.

Some works of iniquity carried on by the people were repreſented by the prophet Hoſea, in the ſimilitude of ploughing, reaping, and eating the fruit; "You have ploughed wick-"edneſs, reaped iniquity, eaten the fruit of "lying, becauſe thou didſt truſt in thy own "way, to the multitude of thy mighty men." Hoſea x. 13.

I have felt great diſtreſs of mind ſince I came on this iſland, on account of the members of our ſociety being mixed with the world in various ſorts of buſineſs and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for ſlaves; and in loading theſe ſhips abundance of people are employed in the manufactories.

Friends in early time refuſed, on a religious principle, to make or trade in ſuperfluities, of which we have many large teſtimonies on record, but for want of faithfulneſs ſome gave way, even ſome whoſe examples

were of note in ſociety, and from thence others took more liberty: members of our ſociety worked in ſuperfluities, and bought and ſold them, and thus dimneſs of ſight came over many. At length, friends got into the uſe of ſome ſuperfluities in dreſs, and in the furniture of their houſes, and this hath ſpread from leſs to more, till ſuperfluity of ſome kinds is common amongſt us.

In this declining ſtate many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of truth. Of late years a deep exerciſe hath attended my mind, that friends may dig deep, may carefully caſt forth the looſe matter, and get down to the rock, the ſure foundation, and there hearken to that divine voice which gives a clear and certain ſound.

And I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if friends who have known the truth, keep in that tenderneſs of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their truſt is only on the Lord, he will graciouſly lead ſome to be patterns of deep ſelf-denial, in things relating to trade, and handicraft labour; and that ſome who have plenty of the treaſures of this world, will example in a plain frugal life, and pay wages to ſuch whom they may hire, more liberally than is now cuſtomary in ſome places.

The prophet, ſpeaking of the true church, ſaid, "Thy people alſo ſhall be all righte-
"ous."

Of the depth of this divine work ſeveral have ſpoken. John

John Gratton, in his journal, p. 45, ſaid, "The Lord is my portion, I ſhall not want. He hath wrought all my works in me. I am nothing but what I am in him."

Gilbert Latey, through the powerful operations of the ſpirit of Chriſt in his ſoul, was brought to that depth of ſelf-denial, that he could not join with that proud ſpirit in other people, which inclined them to want vanities and ſuperfluities. This friend was often amongſt the chief rulers of the nation in times of perſecution, and it appears by the teſtimony of friends, that his dwelling was ſo evidently in the pure life of truth, that in his viſits to thoſe great men, he found a place in their minds; and that king James the ſecond, in the times of his troubles, made particular mention in a very reſpectful manner of what Gilbert once ſaid to him.

The ſaid Gilbert found a concern to write an epiſtle, in which are theſe expreſſions; "Fear the Lord, ye men of all ſorts, trades, and callings, and leave off all the evil that is in them, for the Lord is grieved with all the evils uſed in your employments which you are exerciſed in."

"It is even a grief to ſee how you are ſervants to ſin, and inſtruments of Satan." See his works, p. 42, &c.

George Fox, in an epiſtle, writes thus: "Friends, ſtand in the eternal power of God, witneſſes againſt the pomps and vanities of this world."

"Such

"Such tradeſmen who ſtand as witneſſes in the power of God, cannot fulfil the people's minds in theſe vanities, and therefore they are offended at them."

"Let all truſt in the Lord, and wait patiently on him; for when truth firſt broke forth in London, many tradeſmen could not take ſo much money in their ſhops for ſome time, as would buy them bread and water, becauſe they withſtood the world's ways, faſhions, and cuſtoms; yet by their patient waiting on the Lord in their good life and converſation, they anſwered the truth in people's hearts, and thus their buſineſs increaſed." Book of Doctrinals, p. 824.

Now Chriſt our holy leader graciouſly continueth to open the underſtandings of his people, and as circumſtances alter from age to age, ſome who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the ſtate of things, are led by his holy ſpirit into exerciſes in ſome reſpect different from thoſe which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and through the conſtrainings of pure love, are engaged to open the feelings they have to others.

In faithfully following Chriſt, the heart is weaned from the deſire of riches, and we are led into a life ſo plain and ſimple, that a little doth ſuffice, and thus the way openeth to deny ourſelves, under all the tempting allurements of that gain, which we know is the gain of unrighteouſneſs.

The apoſtle ſpeaking on this ſubject, aſk-

eth,

eth this queſtion; "What fellowſhip hath "righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs?" 2 Cor. vi. 14. And again ſaith, "Have no fellow-"ſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, "but rather reprove them," Epheſ. v. 11. Again, "Be not partaker of other men's "ſins, keep thyſelf pure." 1 Tim. v. 22.

Where people through the power of Chriſt are thoroughly ſettled in a right uſe of things, freed from all unneceſſary care and expence, the mind in this true reſignation is at liberty from the bands of a narrow ſelf-intereſt, to attend from time to time on the movings of his ſpirit upon us, though he leads into that, through which our faith is cloſely tried.

The language of Chriſt is pure, and to the pure in heart, this pure language is intelligible; but in the love of money, the mind being intent on gain, is too full of human contrivance to attend to it.

It appeareth evident, that ſome channels of trade are defiled with unrighteouſneſs, that the minds of many are intent on getting treaſures to ſupport a life, in which there are many unneceſſary expences.

And I feel a living concern attend my mind, that under theſe difficulties we may humbly follow our heavenly ſhepherd, who graciouſly regardeth his flock, and is willing and able to ſupply us both inwardly and outwardly with clean provender, that hath been winnowed with the ſhovel and the fan, where we may "ſow to ourſelves in righteouſneſs,

"reap

" reap in mercy," Hoſea x. 12. and not be defiled with the works of iniquity.

Where cuſtoms contrary to pure wiſdom are tranſmitted to poſterity, it appears to be an injury committed againſt them; and I often feel tender compaſſion toward a young generation, and deſires that their difficulties may not be increaſed through unfaithfulneſs in us of the preſent age.

CHAP. II.

On a Sailor's Life.

IN the trade to Africa for ſlaves, and in the management of ſhips going on theſe voyages, many of our lads and young men have a conſiderable part of their education.

Now what pious father beholding his ſon placed in one of theſe ſhips, to learn the practice of a mariner, could forbear mourning over him?

Where youth are exampled in means of getting money, ſo full of violence, and uſed to exerciſe ſuch cruelties on their fellow-creatures, the diſadvantage to them in their education is very great.

But I feel it in my mind to write concerning the ſeafaring life in general.

In the trade carried on from the Weſt-Indies, and from ſome parts of the continent, the

the produce of the labour of ſlaves is a conſiderable part.

And ſailors who are frequently at ports where ſlaves abound, and converſe often with people who oppreſs them without the appearance of remorſe, and often with ſailors employed in the ſlave trade, how powerfully do theſe evil examples ſpread amongſt the ſeafaring youth!

I have had many opportunities to feel and underſtand the general ſtate of the ſeafaring life amongſt us, and my mind hath often been ſad on account of ſo many lads and young men being trained up amidſt ſo great corruption.

Under the humbling power of Chriſt I have ſeen, that if the leadings of his holy ſpirit were faithfully attended to by his profeſſed followers in general, the heathen nations would be exampled in righteouſneſs. A leſs number of people would be employed on the ſeas. The channels of trade would be more free from defilement. Fewer people would be employed in vanities and ſuperfluities.

The inhabitants of cities would be leſs in number.

Thoſe who have much lands would become fathers to the poor.

More people would be employed in the ſweet employment of huſbandry, and in the path of pure wiſdom, labour would be an agreeable, healthful employment.

In

In the opening of theſe things in my mind, I feel a living concern that we who have felt divine love in our hearts may faithfully abide in it, and like good ſoldiers endure hardneſs for Chriſt's ſake.

He, our bleſſed Saviour, exhorting his followers to love one another, adds, "As I "have loved you." John xiii. 34.

He loved Lazarus, yet in his ſickneſs did not heal him, but left him to endure the pains of death, that in reſtoring him to life, the people might be confirmed in the true faith.

He loved his diſciples, but ſent them forth on a meſſage attended with great difficulty, amongſt hard-hearted people, ſome of whom would think that in killing them they did God ſervice.

So deep is divine love, that in ſtedfaſtly abiding in it, we are prepared to deny ourſelves of all that gain which is contrary to pure wiſdom, and to follow Chriſt, even under contempt, and through ſufferings.

While friends were kept truly humble, and walked according to the purity of our principles, the divine witneſs in many hearts was reached; but when a worldly ſpirit got entrance, therewith came in luxuries and ſuperfluities, and ſpread by little and little, even amongſt the foremoſt rank in ſociety, and from thence others took liberty in that way more abundantly.

In the continuation of theſe things from parents to children, there were many wants

to

to ſupply, even wants unknown to friends while they faithfully followed Chriſt. And in ſtriving to ſupply theſe wants many have exacted on the poor, many have entered on employments, in which they often labour in upholding pride and vanity. Many have looked on one another, been ſtrengthened in theſe things, one by the example of another, and as to the pure divine ſeeing, dimneſs hath come over many, and the channels of true brotherly love been obſtructed.

People may have no intention to oppreſs, yet by entering on expenſive ways of life, their minds may be ſo entangled therein, and ſo engaged to ſupport expenſive cuſtoms, as to be eſtranged from the pure ſympathizing ſpirit.

As I have travelled in England, I have had a tender feeling of the condition of poor people, ſome of whom though honeſt and induſtrious, have nothing to ſpare toward paying for the ſchooling of their children.

There is a proportion between labour and the neceſſaries of life, and in true brotherly love the mind is open to feel after the neceſſities of the poor.

Amongſt the poor there are ſome that are weak through age, and others of a weakly nature, who paſs through ſtraits in very private life, without aſking relief from the publick.

Such who are ſtrong and healthy may do that buſineſs, which to the weakly may be oppreſſive; and in performing that in a day

which

which is esteemed a day's labour, by weakly persons in the field and in the shops, and by weakly women who spin and knit in the manufactories, they often pass through wearinesss; and many sighs I believe are uttered in secret, unheard by some who might ease their burdens.

Labour in the right medium is healthy, but in too much of it there is a painful wearinesss; and the hardships of the poor are sometimes increased through want of more agreeable nourishment, more plentiful fewel for the fire, and warmer cloathing in the winter than their wages will answer.

When I have beheld plenty in some houses to a degree of luxury, the condition of poor children brought up without learning, and the condition of the weakly and aged, who strive to live by their labour, have often revived in my mind, as cases of which some who live in fulness need to be put in remembrance.

There are few, if any, could behold their fellow-creatures lie long in distress and forbear to help them, when they could do it without any inconvenience; but customs requiring much labour to support them, do often lie heavy on the poor, while they who live in these customs are so entangled in a multitude of unnecessary concerns, that they think but little of the hardships which the poor people go through.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

On ſilent Worſhip.

WORSHIP in ſilence hath often been refreſhing to my mind, and a care attends me that a young generation may feel the nature of this worſhip.

Great expence ariſeth in relation to that which is called divine worſhip.

A conſiderable part of this expence is applied toward outward greatneſs, and many poor people in raiſing of tithe, labour in ſupporting cuſtoms contrary to the ſimplicity that there is in Chriſt, toward whom my mind hath often been moved with pity.

In pure ſilent worſhip, we dwell under the holy anointing, and feel Chriſt to be our ſhepherd.

Here the beſt of teachers miniſters to the ſeveral conditions of his flock, and the ſoul receives immediately from the divine fountain, that with which it is nouriſhed.

As I have travelled at times where thoſe of other ſocieties have attended our meetings, and have perceived how little ſome of them knew of the nature of ſilent worſhip; I have felt tender deſires in my heart that we who often ſit ſilent in our meetings, may live anſwerable to the nature of an inward fellowſhip with God, that no ſtumbling block through us, may be laid in their way.

Such

Such is the load of unneceſſary expence which lieth on that which is called divine ſervice in many places, and ſo much are the minds of many people employed in outward forms and ceremonies, that the opening of an inward ſilent worſhip in this nation to me hath appeared to be a precious opening.

Within the laſt four hundred years, many pious people have been deeply exerciſed in ſoul on account of the ſuperſtition which prevailed amongſt the profeſſed followers of Chriſt, and in ſupport of their teſtimony againſt oppreſſive idolatry, ſome in ſeveral ages have finiſhed their courſe in the flames.

It appears by the hiſtory of the reformation, that through the faithfulneſs of the martyrs, the underſtandings of many have been opened, and the minds of people, from age to age, been more and more prepared for a real ſpiritual worſhip.

My mind is often affected with a ſenſe of the condition of thoſe people, who in different ages have been meek and patient, following Chriſt through great afflictions: And while I behold the ſeveral ſteps of reformation, and that clearneſs, to which through divine goodneſs, it hath been brought by our anceſtors; I feel tender deſires that we who ſometimes meet in ſilence, may never by our conduct lay ſtumbling-blocks in the way of others, and hinder the progreſs of the reformation in the world.

It was a complaint againſt ſome who were called the Lord's people, that they brought polluted

polluted bread to his altar, and ſaid the table of the Lord was contemptible.

In real ſilent worſhip the ſoul feeds on that which is divine; but we cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and that table which is prepared by the God of this world.

If Chriſt is our ſhepherd, and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following him, our lives will have an inviting language, and the table of the lord will not be polluted.

An EPISTLE

AN

EPISTLE

TO THE

QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS.

Beloved Friends,

FEELING at this time a renewed concern that the pure principle of light and life, and the righteous fruits thereof may ſpread and prevail amongſt mankind, there is an engagement on my heart to labour with my brethren in religious profeſſion, that none of us may be a ſtumbling block in the way of others; but may ſo walk that our conduct may reach the pure witneſs in the hearts of ſuch who are not in profeſſion with us.

And, dear friends, while we publicly own that the holy Spirit is our leader, the profeſſion is in itſelf weighty, and the weightineſs thereof increaſeth, in proportion as we are noted among the profeſſors of truth, and

active

active in dealing with ſuch who walk diſorderly.

Many under our profeſſion for want of due attention, and a perfect reſignation to this Divine Teacher, have in ſome things manifeſted a deviation from the purity of our religious principles, and theſe deviations having crept in amongſt us by little and little, and increaſing from leſs to greater, have been ſo far unnoticed, that ſome living in them, have been active in putting diſcipline in practice, with relation to others, whoſe conduct hath appeared more diſhonourable in the world.

Now as my mind hath been exerciſed before the Lord, I have ſeen, that the diſcipline of the church of Chriſt ſtandeth in that which is pure; that it is the wiſdom from above which gives authority to diſcipline; and that the weightineſs thereof ſtandeth not in any outward circumſtances, but in the authority of Chriſt who is the author of it; and where any walk after the fleſh, and not according to the purity of truth, and at the ſame time are active in putting diſcipline in practice, a veil is gradually drawn over the purity of diſcipline, and over that holineſs of life, which Chriſt leads thoſe into, "in "whom the love of God is verily perfected," 1 John ii. 5.

When we labour in true love with offenders, and they remain obſtinate, it ſometimes is neceſſary to proceed as far as our Lord di-

 rected,

rected, "Let him be to thee as an heathen "man, or a publican," Mat. xviii. 17.

Now when such are disowned, and they who act therein feel Christ made unto them wisdom, and are preserved in his meek, restoring spirit, there is no just cause of offence ministred to any; but when such who are active in dealing with offenders indulge themselves in things which are contrary to the purity of truth, and yet judge others whose conduct appears more dishonourable than their's, here the pure authority of discipline ceaseth as to such offenders, and a temptation is laid in their way to wrangle and contend—"Judge not," said our Lord, "that "ye be not judged." Now this forbidding, alludes to man's judgment, and points out the necessity of our humbly attending to that sanctifying power under which the faithful experience the Lord to be "a spirit of judg-"ment to them," Isa. xxviii. 6. And as we feel his Holy Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body in us, and can say, "it is no more "I that live, but Christ that liveth in me," here right judgment is known.

And while divine love prevails in our hearts, and self in us is brought under judgment, a preparation is felt to labour in a right manner with offenders; but if we abide not in this love, our outward performance in dealing with others, degenerates into formality; for "this is the love of God, that "we keep his commandments," John i. 3.

How

How weighty are thoſe inſtructions of our Redeemer concerning religious duties, when he points out, that they who pray, ſhould be ſo obedient to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, that humbly confiding in his help, they may ſay, "Thy name O Father be hallowed! "Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on "earth as it is in heaven:"——In this awful ſtate of mind is felt that worſhip which ſtands in doing the will of God, on earth, as it is done in heaven, and keeping the holy Name ſacred. To take a holy profeſſion upon us is awful, nor can we keep this holy Name ſacred, but by humbly abiding under the croſs of Chriſt. The apoſtle made a heavy complaint againſt ſome who prophaned this holy Name by their manner of living, "thro' "you," he ſays, "the name of God is blaſ- "phemed amongſt the Gentiles," Rom. ii. 24.

Some of our anceſtors through many tribulations were gathered into the ſtate of true worſhippers, and had fellowſhip in that which is pure, and as one was inwardly moved to kneel down in their aſſemblies, and publicly call on the name of the Lord, thoſe in the harmony of united exerciſe then preſent, joined in the prayer; I mention this in order that we of the preſent age, may look unto the Rock from whence we were hewn, and remember that to unite in worſhip, is a union in prayer, and that prayer acceptable to the Father is only in a mind truly ſanctified, where the ſacred name is kept holy, and the heart reſigned to do his will on earth as

it is done in heaven, "If ye abide in me," ſaith Chriſt, "and my words abide in you, "ye ſhall aſk what ye will in my name, "and it ſhall be done unto you."—Now we know not what to pray for as we ought, but as the Holy Spirit doth open and direct our minds, and as we faithfully yield to its influences, our prayers are in the will of our heavenly Father, who fails not to grant that which his own ſpirit, through his children, aſketh;—thus preſervation from ſin is known, and the fruits of righteouſneſs are brought forth by ſuch who inwardly unite in prayer.

How weighty are our ſolemn meetings when the name of Chriſt is kept holy?

"How precious is that ſtate in which the children of the Lord are ſo redeemed from the love of this world, that they are accepted and bleſſed in all that they do." R. Barclay's Apology, p. 404.

How neceſſary is it that we who profeſs theſe principles, and are outwardly active in ſupporting them, ſhould faithfully abide in divine ſtrength, that "As He who hath call-"ed us, is holy, ſo we may be holy in all "manner of converſation." 1 Pet. i. 15.

If one profeſſing to be influenced by the ſpirit of Chriſt, propoſeth to unite in a labour to promote righteouſneſs in the earth, and in time paſt he hath manifeſtly deviated from the path of equity, then to act conſiſtent with this principle, his firſt work is to make reſti-tution ſo far as he may be enabled; for if he attempts to contribute toward a work intend-

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ed to promote righteouſneſs, while it appears that he neglecteth, or refuſeth to act righteouſly himſelf, his conduct has a tendency to entangle the minds of thoſe who are weak in the faith, who behold theſe things, and to draw a veil over the purity of righteouſneſs, by carrying an appearance as though that was righteouſneſs which is not.

Again, if I propoſe to aſſiſt in ſupporting thoſe doctrines wherein that purity of life is held forth, in which cuſtoms proceeding from the ſpirit of this world have no place, and at the ſame time ſtrengthen others in thoſe cuſtoms by my example; the firſt ſtep then in an orderly proceeding, is to ceaſe from thoſe cuſtoms myſelf, and afterwards to labour, as I may be enabled, to promote the like diſpoſition and conduct in others.

To be convinced of the pure principle of truth, and diligently exerciſed in walking anſwerable thereto, is neceſſary before I can conſiſtently recommend this principle to others.—I often feel a labour in ſpirit, that we who are active members in religious ſociety may experience in ourſelves the truth of thoſe expreſſions of the Holy One—"I "will be ſanctified in them that come nigh "me." Lev. x. 3.—in this caſe, my mind hath been often exerciſed when alone, year after year, for many years, and in the renewings of divine love, a tender care hath been incited in me, that we who profeſs the inward principle of light to be our teacher, may be a family united in that purity of worſhip,

worſhip, which comprehends a holy life, and miniſters inſtruction to others.

My mind is often drawn towards children in the truth, who having a ſmall ſhare of the things of this life, and coming to have families may be inwardly exerciſed before the Lord to ſupport them in a way agreeable to the purity of truth, in which they may feel his bleſſing upon them in their labours; the thoughts of ſuch being entangled with cuſtoms (contrary to pure wiſdom) conveyed to them through our hands, doth often very tenderly and movingly affect my heart, and when I look towards and think on the ſucceeding generation, fervent deſires are raiſed in me, that we by yielding to that Holy Spirit which leads into all truth, may not do the work of the Lord deceitfully, may not live contrary to the purity of the divine principle we profeſs; but that as faithful labourers in our age, we may be inſtrumental in removing ſtumbling blocks out of the way of thoſe who may ſucceed us.

So great was the love of Chriſt, that he gave himſelf for the church, "that he might "ſanctify and cleanſe it, that it ſhould be "holy, and without blemiſh, not having "ſpot or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing," Eph. v. 25. and where any take the name of Chriſt upon them, profeſſing to be members of his church, and led by his Holy Spirit, and yet manifeſtly deviate from the purity of truth, they herein act againſt the gracious deſign of his giving himſelf for them, and

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miniſter cauſe for the continuance of his afflictions, viz. in his body the church.

Chriſt ſuffered afflictions in a body of fleſh prepared by the father, but the afflictions of his myſtical body are yet unfiniſhed; for they who are baptized into Chriſt are baptized into his death, and as we humbly abide under his ſanctifying power, and are brought forth into newneſs of life, we feel Chriſt to live in us, who being the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and forever, and always at unity with himſelf, his ſpirit in the hearts of his people leads to an inward exerciſe for the ſalvation of mankind; and when under a travail of ſpirit, we behold a viſited people entangled by the ſpirit of this world with its wickedneſs and cuſtoms, and thereby rendered incapable of being faithful examples to others, ſorrow and heavineſs under a ſenſe of theſe things, is often experienced, and thus in ſome meaſure is filled up that which remains of the afflictions of Chriſt.

Our bleſſed Saviour ſpeaking concerning gifts offered in divine ſervice, ſays, "If "thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there "remembereſt that thy brother hath ought "againſt thee, leave there thy gift before the "altar, and go thy way, firſt be reconcil-"ed to thy brother, and then come and "offer thy gift." Mat. v. 23, 24.—Now there is no true unity, but in that wherein the Father and the Son are united, nor can there be a perfect reconciliation but in ceaſing from that which miniſters cauſe for the continuation

tinuation of the afflictions of Chriſt; and if any profeſſing to bring their gift to the altar, do remember the cuſtomary contradiction which ſome of their fruits bear to the pure, ſpiritual worſhip, here it appears neceſſary to lay to heart this command, "leave thy gift "by the altar."

Chriſt graciouſly calls his people brethren, "whoſoever ſhall do the will of God the ſame "is my brother." Mark iii. 35. Now if we walk contrary to the truth as it is in Jeſus while we continue to profeſs it, we offend againſt Chriſt, and if under this offence we bring our gift to the altar, our Redeemer doth not direct us to take back our gift, he doth not diſcourage our proceeding in a good work; but graciouſly points out the neceſſary means by which the gift may be rendered acceptable, "leave," ſaith he, "thy gift by "the altar, firſt go and be reconciled to thy "brother," ceaſe from that which grieves the Holy Spirit, ceaſe from that which is againſt the truth, as it is in Jeſus, and then come, and offer thy gift.

I feel, while I am writing, a tenderneſs to thoſe who through divine favour, are preſerved in a lively ſenſe of the ſtate of the churches, and at times may be under diſcouragements with regard to proceeding in that pure way which Chriſt by his Holy Spirit leads into: the depth of diſorder and weakneſs, which ſo much prevails, being opened, doubtings are apt to ariſe as to the poſſibility of proceeding as an aſſembly of

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the Lord's people in the pure counſel of truth; and here I feel a concern to expreſs in uprightneſs, that which hath been opened in my mind, under the power of the croſs of Chriſt, relating to a viſible gathered church, the members whereof are guided by the Holy Spirit.

The church is called the body of Chriſt, Col. i. 25.

Chriſt is called the head of the church, Eph. i. 22.

The church is called the pillar, and ground of truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Thus the church hath a name that is ſacred, and the neceſſity of keeping this name holy, appears evident; for where a number of people unite in a profeſſion of being led by the ſpirit of Chriſt, and publiſh their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may in ſome meaſure be conſidered as ſuch which Chriſt is the author of.

Now while we ſtand in this ſtation, if the pure light of life is not followed and regarded in our proceedings, we are in the way of prophaning the holy Name, and of going back toward that wilderneſs of ſufferings and perſecution, out of which, through the tender mercies of God, a church hath been gathered; "Chriſt liveth in ſanctified veſſels," Gal. ii. 20. and where they behold his holy Name profaned, and the pure goſpel light eclipſed through the unfaithfulneſs of any who by their ſtation appear to be ſtandard bearers under the Prince of Peace, the living members

bers in the body of Chriſt in beholding theſe things, do in ſome degree experience the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, and as the wiſdom of the world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this viſible gathered church, and the pure leadings of the Holy Spirit are leſs waited for and followed, ſo the true ſuffering ſeed is more and more oppreſſed.

My mind is often affected with a ſenſe of the condition of ſincere hearted people in ſome kingdoms, where liberty of conſcience is not allowed, many of whom being burthened in their minds with prevailing ſuperſtition, joined with oppreſſions, are often under ſorrow; and where ſuch have attended to that pure light which hath in ſome degree opened their underſtandings, and for their faithfulneſs thereto, have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy are the perſecutions which in divers parts of the world are exerciſed upon them? How mighty, as to the outward, is that power by which they are borne down and oppreſſed?

How deeply affecting is the condition of many upright hearted people who are taken into the papal inquiſition? What lamentable cruelties, in deep vaults, in a private way, are exerciſed on many of them? and how lingering is that death by a ſmall ſlow fire, which they have frequently indured, who have been faithful to the end?

How many tender-ſpirited proteſtants have been ſentenced to ſpend the remainder of their lives

lives in a galley chained to oars, under hard-hearted maſters, while their young children are placed out for education, and taught principles ſo contrary to the conſciences of the parents, that by diſſenting from them, they have hazarded their liberty, lives, and all that was dear to them of the things of this world?

There have been in time paſt ſevere perſecutions under the Engliſh government, and many ſincere-hearted people have ſuffered death for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, whoſe faithfulneſs in their day hath miniſtred encouragement to others, and been a bleſſing to many who have ſucceeded them; thus from age to age, the darkneſs being more and more removed, a channel at length, through the tender mercies of God, hath been opened for the exerciſe of the pure gift of the goſpel miniſtry, without interruption from outward power, a work, the like of which is rare, and unknown in many parts of the world.

As theſe things are often freſh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the earth has been open before me, that liberty of conſcience with which we are favoured, hath appeared not as a light matter.

A truſt is committed to us, a great and weighty truſt, to which our diligent attention is neceſſary: wherever the active members of this viſible gathered church uſe themſelves to that which is contrary to the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this truſt, and one ſtep back toward the wilder-

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neſs, one ſtep towards undoing what God in infinite love hath done through his faithful ſervants, in a work of ſeveral ages, and is like laying the foundation for future ſufferings.

I feel a living invitation in my mind to ſuch who are active in our religious ſociety, that we may lay to heart this matter, and conſider the ſtation in which we ſtand; a place of outward liberty under the free exerciſe of our conſcience towards God, not obtained but through great and manifold afflictions of thoſe who lived before us. There is gratitude due from us to our heavenly Father, and juſtice to our poſterity; can our hearts endure, or our hands be ſtrong, if we deſert a cauſe ſo precious, if we turn aſide from a work under which ſo many have patiently laboured?

May the deep ſufferings of our Saviour be ſo dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the adorable Son of God, nor count the blood of the covenant unholy!

May the faithfulneſs of the martyrs when the proſpect of death by fire was before them, be remembered! and may the patient conſtant ſufferings of the upright-hearted ſervants of God in latter ages be revived in our minds! and may we ſo follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor thoſe in ages to come, may ever be brought under ſuffering, through our ſliding back from the work of reformation in the world!

While

While the active members in the visible gathered church stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on under the leadings of the Holy Spirit, altho' disorders may arise among us, and cause many exercises to those who feel the care of the churches upon them; yet while these continue under the weight of the work, and labour in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ in the visible gathered church may be kept sacred; but while they who are active in the affairs of this church, continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles, this as the prophet Isaiah x. 18. expresseth it, is like "as when a standard bear-"er fainteth;" and thus the way opens to great, and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings for such who through the power of divine love, are separated to the gospel of Christ, and cannot unite with any thing which stands in opposition to the purity of it.

The necessity of an inward stillness, hath under these exercises appeared clear to my mind; in true silence strength is renewed, the mind herein is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the divine will, and a lowliness in outward living opposite to worldly honour, becomes truly acceptable to us;—in the desire after outward gain, the mind is prevented from a perfect attention to the voice of Christ; but being weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the divine will, the pure light shines into the soul: and where the fruits of

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that ſpirit which is of this world, are brought forth by many who profeſs to be led by the ſpirit of truth, and cloudineſs is felt to be gathering over the viſible gathered church, the ſincere in heart who abide in true ſtillneſs, and are exerciſed therein before the Lord for his name ſake, have a knowledge of Chriſt in the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, and inward thankfulneſs is felt at times, that thro' divine love our own wiſdom is caſt out, and that forward active part in us ſubjected, which would riſe and do ſomething in the viſible gathered church, without the pure leadings of the Spirit of Chriſt.

While aught remains in us different from a perfect reſignation of our wills, it is like a ſeal to a book wherein is written "that good, "and acceptable, and perfect will of God "concerning us," Rom. xii. 2. but when our minds entirely yield to Chriſt, that ſilence is known, which followeth the opening of the laſt of the ſeals, Rev. viii. 1. in this ſilence we learn abiding in the divine will, and there feel, that we have no cauſe to promote but that only in which the light of life directs us in our proceedings, and that the alone way to be uſeful in the church of Chriſt, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his Holy Spirit in all caſes, and being preſerved thereby in purity of heart, and holineſs of converſation, a teſtimony to the purity of his government may be held forth through us, to others.

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As my mind hath been thus exercised, I have seen that to be active, and busy in the visible gathered church, without the leadings of the Holy Spirit is not only unprofitable, but tends to increase dimness, and where way is not opened to proceed in the light of truth, a stop is felt by those who humbly attend to the Divine Leader, a stop which in relation to good order in the visible gathered church, is of the greatest consequence to be observed; thus Robert Barclay in his treatise on discipline holds forth, page 65. 68. 84. "That the judgment or conclusion of the church or congregation, is no further effectual as to the true end and design thereof, but as such judgment or conclusion proceeds from the Spirit of God operating on their minds who are sanctified in Christ Jesus."

Now in this stop I have learned the necessity of waiting on the Lord in humility, that the works of all may be brought to light, and those to judgment which are wrought in the wisdom of this world, and have also seen, that in a mind thoroughly subjected to the power of the cross, there is a savour of life to be felt, which evidently tends to gather souls to God, while the greatest works in the visible gathered church brought forth in man's wisdom, remain to be unprofitable.

Where people are divinely gathered into a holy fellowship, and faithfully abide under the influence of that Spirit which leads into all truth, "they are the light of the world," Mat. v. 14. Now holding this profession, to

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me hath appeared weighty, even beyond what I can fully expreſs, and what our bleſſed Lord ſeemed to have in view, when he propoſed the neceſſity of counting the coſt, before we begin to build.

I truſt there are many who at times, under divine viſitation, feel an inward enquiry after God, and when ſuch in the ſimplicity of their hearts mark the lives of a people who profeſs to walk by the leadings of his Spirit, of what great concernment is it that our lights ſhine clear, that nothing of our conduct carry a contradiction to the truth as it is in Jeſus, or be a means of profaning his holy Name, and be a ſtumbling block in the way of thoſe ſincere enquirers.

When ſuch ſeekers who wearied with empty forms, look towards uniting with us as a people, and behold active members among us depart in their cuſtomary way of living, from that purity of life, which under humbling exerciſes hath been opened before them, as the way of the Lord's people, how mournful and diſcouraging is the proſpect! and how ſtrongly doth ſuch unfaithfulneſs operate againſt the ſpreading of the peaceable, harmonious principle and teſtimony of truth amongſt mankind?

In entering into that life, which is hid with Chriſt in God, we behold his peaceable government, where the whole family are governed by the ſame ſpirit, and the "doing "to others as we would they ſhould do un-"to us," groweth up as good fruit from a

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good tree, the peace, quietneſs, and harmonious walking in this government is beheld with humble reverence to him who is the author of it, and in partaking of the Spirit of Chriſt, we partake of that which labours, and ſuffers for the increaſe of this peaceable government among the inhabitants of the world; and I have felt a labour of long continuance that we who profeſs this peaceable principle, may be faithful ſtandard bearers under the Prince of Peace, and that nothing of a defiling nature, tending to diſcord and wars, may remain among us.

May each of us query with ourſelves, have the treaſures I poſſeſs, been gathered in that wiſdom which is from above, ſo far as hath appeared to me?

Have none of my fellow-creatures an equitable right to any part which is called mine?

Have the gifts, and poſſeſſions received by me from others been conveyed in a way free from all unrighteouſneſs ſo far as I have ſeen?

The principle of peace in which our truſt is only on the Lord, and our minds weaned from a dependance on the ſtrength of armies, hath appeared to me very precious, and I often feel ſtrong deſires, that we who profeſs this principle, may ſo walk, as to give juſt cauſe for none of our fellow-creatures to be offended at us; that our lives may evidently manifeſt, that we are redeemed from that ſpirit in which wars are: our bleſſed Saviour in pointing out the danger of ſo

leaning on man, as to neglect the leadings of his Holy Spirit, ſaid, "Call no man your "father upon the earth; for one is your fa- "ther which is in heaven," Mat. xxiii. 9. where the wiſdom from above is faithfully followed, and therein we are entruſted with ſubſtance, it is a treaſure committed to our care in the nature of an inheritance, as an inheritance from him, who formed, and ſupports the world. Now in this condition the true enjoyment of the good things of this life is underſtood, and that bleſſing felt, in which is real ſafety; this is what I apprehend our bleſſed Lord had in view, when he pronounced, "Bleſſed are the meek, for they ſhall in- "herit the earth."

Selfiſh worldly minded men may hold lands in the ſelfiſh ſpirit, and depending on the ſtrength of the outward power, be perplexed with ſecret uneaſineſs, leſt the injured ſhould ſometime overpower them, and that meaſure meted to them, which they meaſure to others. —Thus ſelfiſh men may poſſeſs the earth; but it is the meek who inherit it, and enjoy it as an inheritance from the heavenly Father, free from all the defilements and perplexities of unrighteouſneſs.

Where proceedings have been in that wiſdom which is from beneath, and inequitable gain gathered by a man, and left as a gift to his children, who being entangled by the ſame worldly ſpirit, have not attained to that clearneſs of light in which the channels of righteouſneſs are opened, and juſtice done to

thoſe who remain ſilent under injuries: here I have ſeen under humbling exerciſe of mind, that the ſins of the fathers are embraced by the children, and become their ſins, and thus in the days of tribulation, the iniquities of the fathers are viſited upon theſe children, who take hold of the unrighteouſneſs of their fathers, and live in that ſpirit in which thoſe iniquities were committed; to which agreeth the prophecy of Moſes, concerning a rebellious people. "They that are left of you "ſhall pine away in their iniquities, in your "enemy's land, and in the iniquities of their "fathers ſhall they pine away." Lev. xxvi. 39. and our bleſſed Lord in beholding the hardneſs of heart in that generation, and feeling in himſelf, that they lived in the ſame ſpirit in which the prophets had been perſecuted unto death, ſignified, "that the blood of all "the prophets which was ſhed from the "foundation of the world, ſhould be requir-"ed of that generation, from the blood of "Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, which "periſhed between the altar and the temple." Luke xi. 51.

Tender compaſſion fills my heart toward my fellow creatures eſtranged from the harmonious government of the Prince of Peace, and a labour attends me, that they may be gathered to this peaceable habitation.

In being inwardly prepared to ſuffer adverſity for Chriſt's ſake, and weaned from a dependance on the arm of fleſh, we feel, that there is a reſt for the people of God, and

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that it ſtands in a perfect reſignation of ourſelves to his holy Will; in this condition, all our wants and deſires are bounded by pure wiſdom, and our minds wholly attentive to the council of Chriſt inwardly communicated, which hath appeared to me as a habitation of ſafety for the Lord's people, in times of outward commotion and trouble, and deſires from the fountain of pure love, are opened in me, to invite my brethren and fellow creatures to feel for, and ſeek after that which gathers the mind into it.

Mount-Holly, New-Jerſey,
4th Month, 1772. } JOHN WOOLMAN.

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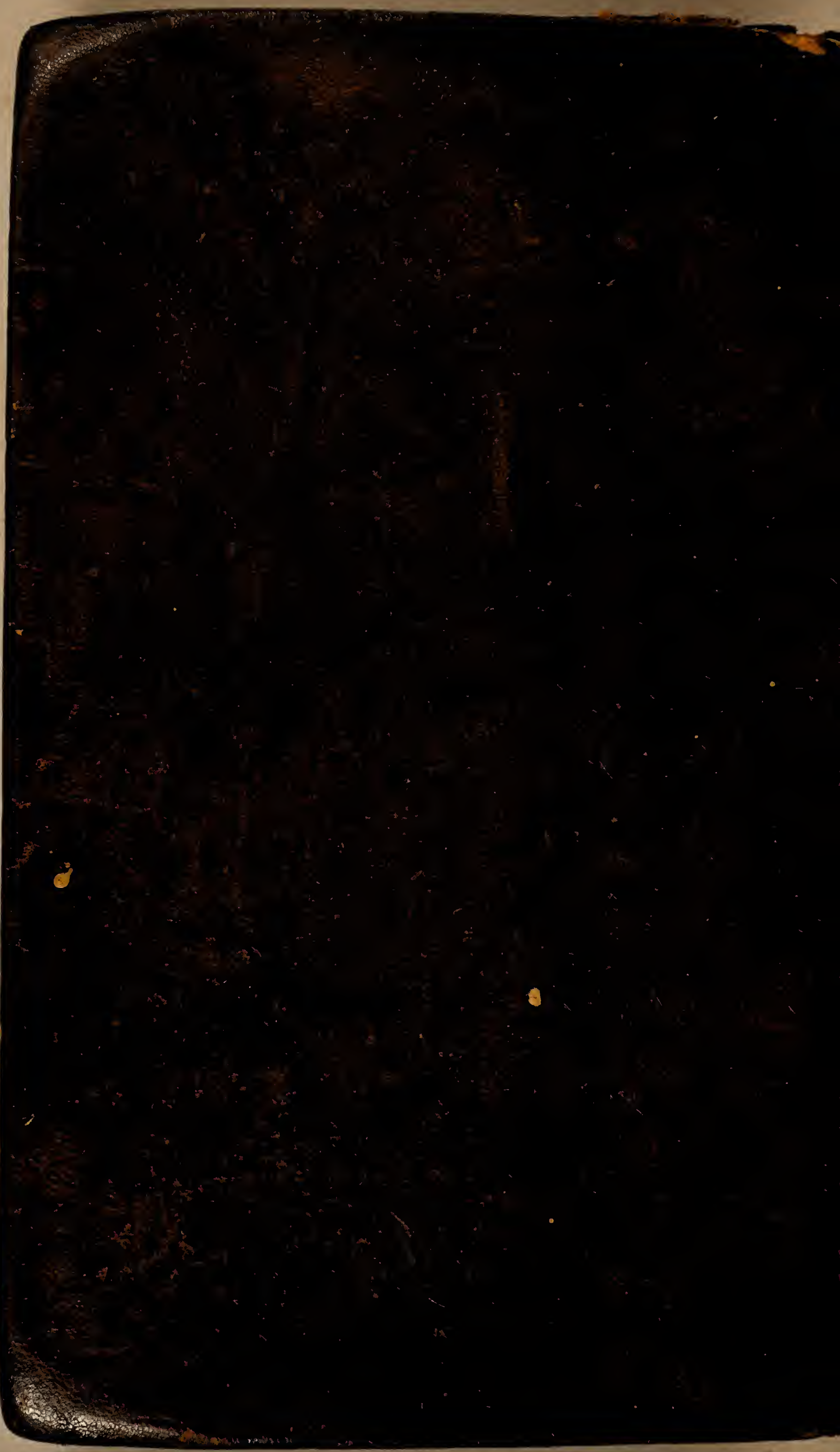
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